THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 166 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 14, 1948 NUMBER 7

The Shape of Things

SEVERAL NEW CHAPTERS HAVE BEEN ADDED to the incredible Oklahoma story. When the state university opened a three-man "law school" in a devious effort to comply with, and yet circumvent, the ruling of the Supreme Court in the now famous case of Ada Lois Sipuel, Walter M. Harrison, former editor of the *Oklahoman and Times,* promptly applied for admission. Wholly unprepared to receive the application of a white man, the university pleaded for time in which to make a decision. "State officials," Mr. Harrison told reporters, "are ducking in holes like a mole." And when six Negro students applied for admission to various departments in the university's graduate school, the regents and faculty once again went into their holes. A third chapter was written when white students at the university, a majority of whom have consistently favored the admission of Negroes, solemnly burned a copy of the Fourteenth Amendment and sent the ashes to President Truman. Then Oklahoma's governor, Roy J. Turner, blamed the whole uproar on "agitators." By this we presume he meant the majority of the student body at the state university, as well as the United States Supreme Court. The court is now considering Miss Sipuel's plea for a writ of mandamus which would compel the university to accept her. We hope it grants it, and soon.

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CONCEDING THAT THIS IS THE SEASON WHEN politicians' hearts traditionally burn for minorities, we nevertheless find the President's special message on civil rights a genuine and highly admirable document. It follows almost in full the recommendations of his Committee on Civil Rights, which was appointed long before anyone thought of the coming election—and before there was any budding third party to bring pressure from the left. Neither can it be said that Mr. Truman is merely attempting to steal Republican thunder, the peals from that quarter being less than deafening. Senator Taft has already indicated that he will oppose the Fair Employment Practices bill reported out by his Labor committee; Republican Senator Donnell voted against sending the bill to the floor at all; and Republican Senator Ball offered an amendment to strike out all provisions for its enforcement. As though this were not enough, Representative Knutson, vacationing in Florida, offered his sympathies to the South, which he remarked "has shown greater patience than Job" with the conduct of Northern Democrats. Along with the Southerners, these Republicans may block adoption of the more controversial recommendations in the President's message, though there is a possibility now that the large bi-partisan bloc in favor of civil-rights legislation will at last eliminate the technique of the filibuster by clamping a closure rule on debate. One proposal urged by the President for the federal government should be speedily picked up by states and cities, namely, the establishment of civil-rights commissions as permanent agencies of government. Here there is no issue of states' rights to hide behind, nor any question of bureaucratic interference from Washington. The more state and local governments do for themselves on this score, the less will have to be done by the federal government.

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A REFORM IS OVERDUE IN ONE AREA OF federal discrimination, however, which need not depend upon inspiration from the separate states—although New Jersey, for one, has done much to bring it into focus in the past week. That area is the armed services. One brief dictated sentence over Secretary Forrestal's signature is all that is required to set into operation the change-over from a Jim Crow to a democratic defense organization. This would implement the President's injunction to Secretary Forrestal, referred to in Mr. Truman's civil-rights message, to "take steps to have the remaining instances of discrimination in the armed services eliminated as rapidly as possible." New Jersey's Governor Driscoll, for his part, couldn't wait until the order was drawn and the V. M. I. lieutenant colonels had tired of howling.

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The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

A month ago, he telegraphed Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall to ask if the New Jersey National Guard would lose federal recognition—and $4,550,000 in allotments—if it mixed white and Negro troops, in defiance of army "policy" but in accordance with the state's new constitution, which specifically forbids discrimination in the state militia. He had received no reply up to last week, when the chief of staff of the 50th Armored Division of the New Jersey National Guard announced that the guard would comply with army regulations by processing Negro enlistments but withholding the actual oath of enlistment until "receipt of notice of a change in policy of the Department of the Army." When the Governor heard of this, he tersely directed "all state agencies and departments . . . to observe the letter and spirit of the state constitution." This abrupt and democratic order apparently jolted Mr. Royall into replying to the Governor's month-old telegram. The army, said Mr. Royall last Saturday—in direct contradiction to the President's views—still feels that segregation is "in the best interests of national defense" and it will be "continued in force for the regular army." As for New Jersey, he tactfully added, the state may conform to its constitution and maintain a democratic militia "for the present." Thus, nothing has been resolved.

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AT HIS FAREWELL PRESS CONFERENCE AS Chief of Staff, General Eisenhower is reported to have said that he realized he had ceased to have "news value" when he took himself out of the Presidential race. Nothing could be farther from the truth. In the first place, the Eisenhower candidacy dies hard, and there are still those who think that, despite his "definite and positive" decision not to run, a very real and spontaneous draft might force him to reconsider. Certainly, he has enhanced his prestige enormously by his withdrawal, not only because of the becoming modesty in which it was couched but because of the probably historic rule he laid down for the role of the military in a civilian government. The probability of the Republican Old Guard's permitting a draft nomination is remote, however, and we believe that Eisenhower's newsworthiness lies rather in the claim which he has established to the respect of the nation. No one questions the superb diplomatic task he performed as commander of the American forces in Europe, and he has by all accounts performed an able job as Chief of Staff in the difficult period of demobilization and reconstruction. Unification of the armed services has been achieved and friction between the branches greatly reduced. Perhaps even more difficult problems face his able and similarly democratic successor. General Bradley takes on the task of building the nation's defenses in an era that makes the prospect of war more appalling than ever, an era in which there probably is

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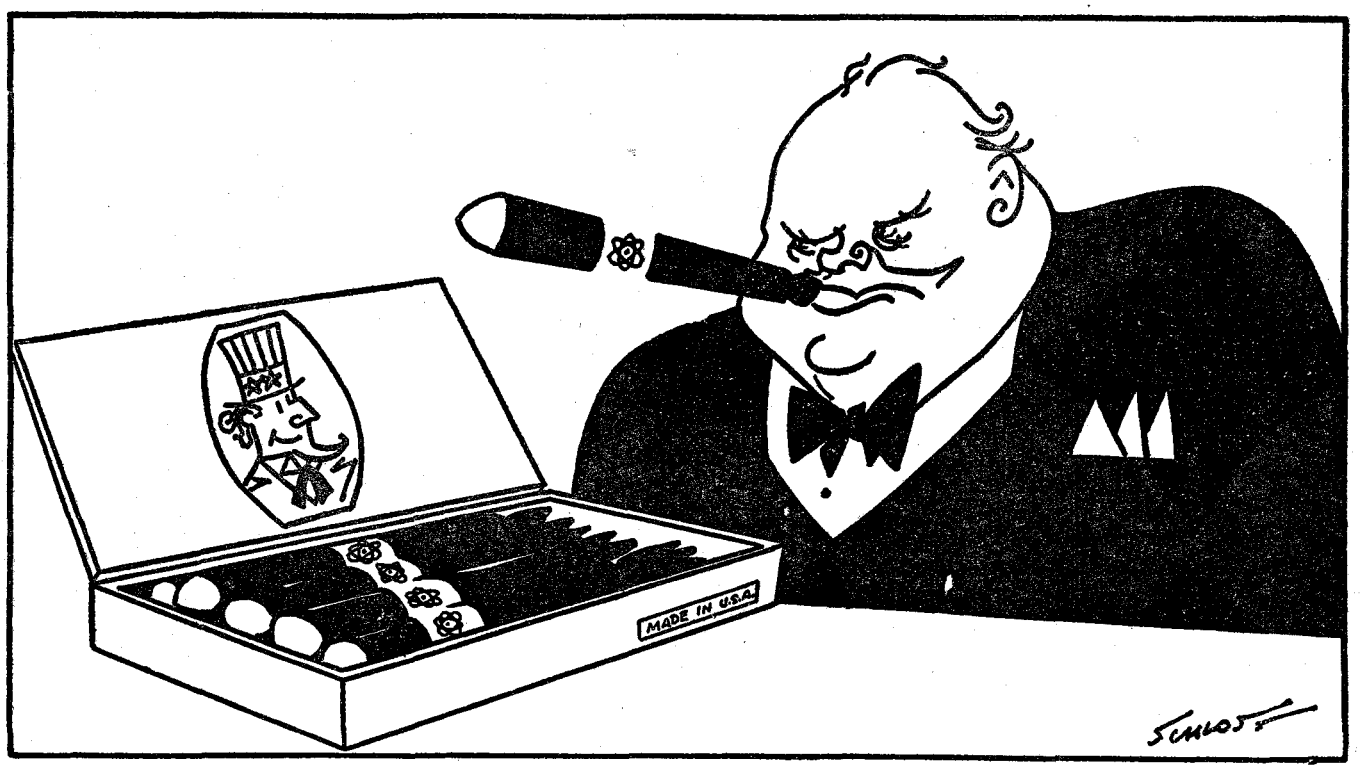
no real defense except the preservation of peace. Toward this objective, the country can still use the advice of Dwight Eisenhower, whose ability and public spirit should not be confined to the campus of Columbia University.

*

NO SINGLE PROJECT THAT TOOK SHAPE IN the social imagination of Franklin D. Roosevelt evoked more scorn or ridicule than his famous "shelter-belt" proposal of 1934. In going over reports of soil erosion on the Great Plains, the President innocently inquired if it would not be a good idea to plant trees as windbreaks and soil protectors. "Man cannot change all the forces of weather," he said, "but he can modify his own surroundings." So the President proceeded to allocate a million dollars for the first shelter-belt projects. Now, fourteen years later, 16,100 miles of windbreaks have been planted on 26,375 farms on the Great Plains. Returning from a recent trip through eastern Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska, Arthur H. Carhart of the Denver *Post* reports that Chinese elms, pines, cedars, and other hardy species used for the shelter belt have shown a phenomenal growth. The farmers now express unbounded enthusiasm for a project which they were among the first to deride as "visionary." When the plantings were interrupted in 1941, more applications for them were on file than could be handled. "The Great Plains shelter belt," writes Mr. Carhart, "is no longer in the realm of theory. It has proved itself." Surely nothing would give Franklin Roosevelt greater satisfaction, were he alive today, than to behold this coming to maturity of one of his fondest dreams.

THE FIRST TEST OF STRENGTH FOR THE American Labor Party since the Amalgamated Clothing Workers walked out over the Wallace issue will come on February 17, when New York's Twenty-fourth Congressional District elects a successor to Representative Rabin. It will be a keenly watched test, but not as revealing as some would like it to appear. The A. L. P., like any other minority party, can make a braver than average showing in a special election for the simple reason that it can throw all its city-wide resources into a single district. It can count, moreover, on a strong candidate in former Assemblyman Leo Isacson, on a relatively unknown opponent in the Democratic nominee, Karl Propper, and on the stubborn refusal of Ed Flynn, the Democratic county boss, to allow candidates in his district to accept indorsements from the Liberal Party. Flynn recognizes the ideological distinction between the Liberals and what is now the A. L. P., but, against the wishes of his National Committee, he prefers to go it alone out of a deep-seated belief that there is something unholy about parties other than the Democratic and Republican—and he is not so sure about the Republican. As a result, the Liberals have nominated Dean Alfange and are appealing to all who "repudiate Republican reaction and the Wallace-Communist conspiracy." In effect, this means that to gauge President Truman's strength in the district, as opposed to Wallace's, one will have to add the Alfange vote to the Propper vote. It is well to allow, too, for the fact that the Twenty-fourth is the A. L. P.'s second strongest district; its sentiments should not be considered typical of those in Massachusetts, Idaho, or, for that matter, most of New York.



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Boom into Bust?

IS THIS "it"? Does the sharp break in commodities in the past week mark the end of the boom and the beginning of the bust? Does the fact that it was accompanied by a slump in stock prices—which are by no means unduly inflated—indicate a general loss of confidence that will shortly be reflected in cancelation of investment plans, contraction of sales, and expansion of unemployment?

People are naturally asking such questions. For a long time now, there have been signs that the business community was jittery. Even those who have been reaping a bumper harvest of profits as a result of the long advance in prices have had their pleasure marred by fear that collapse was just around the next corner, or the one after that. It is this nervousness, perhaps, that distinguishes the current boom from others within recent memory. In 1920, the slump seems to have caught nearly everyone napping; in 1929, all but a few Cassandras were talking about the new permanent prosperity right up to the end.

Memories of those black years have induced a certain amount of caution since V-J Day. Business, generally speaking, has been watching inventory positions and taking some care not to become over-extended. Consequently, we may be in a better position to withstand a moderate recession than we were in 1920 or 1929.

On the whole, farm prices have been more inflated than industrial prices, and a considerable drop in foods and agricultural raw materials is possible without ruining the farmers or starting a chain reaction. Even after the break, prices of leading farm products remain well above their "parity" levels, as the following table shows:

	Close February 5	*Parity January 15*
Wheat per bushel	$ 2.63¾	$ 2.22
Corn per bushel	2.56	1.81
Cotton per pound	.3340	.3112
Hogs per cwt.	26.25	18.20

In the present year, government support is assured for leading farm commodities if they fall to 90 per cent of parity. Obviously, most of them have a long way to drop before this check operates, but knowledge that the cushion is in position is one factor tending to moderate the rate of descent.

Our own view is that the present setback in commodity prices is not a harbinger of total collapse. It is rather a much needed correction, which may in some part reflect recent government efforts to tighten up credit. But that is only one reason why so many of the commodity bulls have suddenly become tired and decided to cover their positions. Last fall, there was reckless speculation in grains and other commodities based on a belief that near-famine conditions throughout the world would continue for a long time to come. Heavy snows in Midwest and Southwest, providing good snow cover and moisture for winter wheat, have now raised hopes for another bumper crop; growing conditions are also much better in Europe than last year; in the Southern Hemisphere, the newly harvested Argentine crop is well above expectations, and that in Australia is of record size. While nothing like a glut is in sight, prospects of a sufficiency of wheat by next fall are much better than they were a few months ago.

Wheat has recently been the bell-wether of the commodity markets; it led prices up and now it is leading them back part of the way. Other cereals, cotton, hides, oilseeds, hogs, and lard are among those for which quotations have dropped fairly substantially in the past week. The total extent of the fall is indicated by the fact that in the past three weeks it wiped out one-half of the increase registered in the *Journal of Commerce* sensitive-commodity index during the last six months of 1947.

While the fall may easily continue for a while, it seems likely to stop a good way short of, say, OPA levels. The fact is that the demand factors in the situation are still extremely powerful. The immense backlog of the heavy industries, and of manufacturers of such durable goods as automobiles, is still exerting an upward pressure on prices. Moreover, we have yet to see the fall in wholesale food prices passed on to the retail level. Unless that happens, and unless Congress takes steps to continue rent control after February 29, the pressure for large wage increases in the spring will be irresistible, and the price spiral will surely turn upward again. The President's new demand for anti-inflationary measures, at a moment when the drama of the commodity markets was beginning to excite fears that deflation was here, was not as ill-timed as some of his critics suggested.

One other factor has to be taken into consideration in estimating the price outlook. Should Congress reject E. R. P. or decide to make a drastic cut in the total funds provided for it, a real commodity panic would be in the cards. Our present crop plans are geared to continued large-scale shipments of food abroad. Were such exports to slump, as they inevitably would if E. R. P. were killed or mangled, we would expect farm prices to plunge to a point where farmers would drastically cut back their purchases of machinery, fertilizers, and so forth. The rest of the economy would not long remain unaffected.

For this reason, as well as the hope it offers of checking rising costs of living, the commodity slide of the past week is welcome. It may serve to remind Senator Wherry and his gang of isolationists that American prosperity as well as European recovery is being jeopardized by their tactics.

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If America Scuttles Partition

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHILE the United Nations Palestine Commission wrestles with its monstrous assignment, word spreads in Washington and Lake Success that the United States is looking for a way out of its commitment to partition. The opposition of certain State Department officials and of Secretary of Defense Forrestal was exposed in these pages two weeks ago by Lillie Shultz. Since then, Forrestal has said plainly that the protection of our oil reserves in the Middle East would require strong measures—including "some arrangement" which might bring upon the government the charge of "imperialism." And sources close to the State Department insist that strategic considerations have at last forced Secretary Marshall to abandon his support of partition.

If this is true, it leaves the President both isolated and vulnerable. From honest conviction as well as political interest, Mr. Truman favors the U. N. plan for Palestine. More than that, he recognizes the obligation our government assumed when it voted for partition in the General Assembly. But it will take immense courage to resist the kind of pressure that can be brought to bear if his chief policy-makers decide partition would jeopardize American security in the Eastern Mediterranean. Has Mr. Truman that kind of courage?

WITHOUT active American help, the Palestine Commission stands no chance on earth of winning the backing it requires in the Security Council. Only American insistence could overcome the obstacles set up by the British—their refusal to allow the creation of local militias in Palestine as recommended by the Assembly; their refusal to provide a port and hinterland from which the commission could operate; their unwillingness to receive the commission itself until just before they lay down the mandate, thus preventing the United Nations from making any adequate preparations for taking over the interim administration of the country. Above all, the British have permitted the Arab rebellion to develop to a point which guarantees in advance the failure of partition, unless the Security Council takes drastic measures to restore order.

To meet the problems facing it in Palestine, the Security Council will have to develop a capacity for positive action of which it has never yet shown any signs. It will have to deal with acts and threats of aggression on the part of several member states of the United Nations, one of which—Syria—is represented on the Security Council. It will have to deal with Britain's failure to maintain peace and security, its explicit refusal to carry out recommendations of the Assembly—and Britain is a permanent Council member, possessed of the veto. It confronts the necessity of putting down rebellion. Obviously, none of these obligations will be met unless the United States puts the full weight of its authority behind the commission and the decision of the United Nations. If it fails to do so, Britain and the Arabs may wreck partition, but American prestige will go down in the general collapse.

THIS has not yet happened; perhaps it will not happen. But if it does, we should recognize what it means in terms of American foreign policy. For the growing resistance to partition in the minds of our policy-makers is part of something much bigger. Put in a sentence, it indicates that the Truman Doctrine is in process of being extended to embrace the whole Middle East and perhaps other areas as well; that the strategy of employing as allies or tools whatever groups happen to be in power, provided only they are opposed to Russia and hostile to communism, will be applied to the Arab countries as it is now being applied to Greece and Turkey.

Just as the British tried to buy Arab support, or at least neutrality, by abandoning their commitments in Palestine when they saw war with Hitler in the offing, so they and we—if the opponents of partition have their way—are preparing similarly to buy Arab support in anticipa-

What the United States Should Demand in the Security Council

1. That Great Britain be requested to maintain security in Palestine until the Mandate ends, and comply, as a good member of the United Nations, with the resolution of November 29.

2. That the Council inform the Arab states it will not tolerate their revolt against the authority of the United Nations and back that declaration:

first, by insisting that the Mufti be arrested and tried as a war criminal, and

second, by requesting all members of the U. N. to place an embargo on arms shipments to the Arab League states.

3. That the Council immediately recognize the Haganah as the militia of the Jewish people of Palestine and arrange for its equipment for defense purposes by member nations of the U. N.

4. That the Council establish with all possible speed an international police force for Palestine, made up of contingents supplied by the smaller powers to maintain internal order but backed by an assurance of big-power support in the event of external aggression.

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tion of war with Russia. The states of the Arab League, angered by the U. N. decision and fully aware of Western doubts about implementing it, have put on a full-dress demonstration of their unending will to defeat the plan, if it costs the last poor Arab's life. The Jews persist in believing that, given arms, they can defend both partition and themselves; they have also asked for a United Nations police force to help maintain order and protect the commission. But some of our leaders in Washington are more impressed by Arab threats than by Jewish powers of resistance—or America's commitments in the U. N. Several officials have expressed the belief that arming Haganah would only incur Arab vengeance, while an international force might in the end bring Soviet troops—along with ours—into the Levant. Better to "eat crow" on partition, they say, and make deals with the Arab rulers to protect the bases and pipe lines and oil reserves we shall need in that war with Russia. So the Arabs call the tune to which Americans will march in defense of our democratic Western civilization!

It takes temerity to differ with experts; but one gains courage from the fact that only a few months ago many of these same men had figured it out differently. They saw the strategic problem then in terms of a defense based in Africa—arguing that, in case of war with Russia, the Middle East could not be held unless armies were already massed there to prevent an invasion.

One gains courage, too, from recalling that British appeasement after 1939 did not secure Arab loyalty, but, on the contrary, was utilized by local leaders to prepare the Levant as an avenue of Nazi advance; and that the Mufti, now directing the rebellion in Palestine, was similarly engaged in Iraq at the most critical moment of the war. But if the loyalty of the Arabs cannot be bought, even with Jewish blood, the good will of the Jews can be thrown away. No official in London or Washington can hope that Jewish friendship will survive the scuttling of partition or that Palestine's Jews will quietly submit to Arab domination or existence in a "Vatican state" at Tel Aviv. Rather than accept the blasting of all their hopes, the Jews will fight, and this time they will not be held back by any concern for future good relations with Arabs or British—or Americans. They will fight as the Jews fought in the Warsaw ghetto. And every Jew will be an Irgunist, for the premises on which moderation still precariously rests will have been blasted away.

Will pipe lines and refineries be safer in these circumstances than under the plan laid down by the United Nations? Will a bloody struggle with the Jews of Palestine help secure the Middle East as a bulwark against Russian expansion? Will it create that solidarity in the West so essential to the successful "containment" of Russia? Would the United Nations itself survive the surrender of partition by America?

These are some of the questions the President should put to his chief advisers before he allows his government to go back on its word. For once he accepts the logic of imperialism, the course will be set for war and the final defeat of democracy.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Dixie's Fourth Party

IT HAS become a Southern custom since 1932 for the Claghorns to rise up early in an election year and serve notice, in the name of Robert E. Lee and white womanhood, that they are not to be taken for granted by the Democratic Party. They have their pride—and they also have their price. President Truman's special request for civil-rights legislation touched off this year's rising, but there is little doubt that it would have come in any case. It has been part of the election scene ever since the Democrats abolished the Southern veto at Presidential conventions by scrapping the two-thirds' vote requirement.

Mississippi's Senator Eastland set the pace last week with the proposal that the Southern states choose independent Presidential electors who would ignore the convention's nominee and cast their votes for a "distinguished Southerner"—presumably like Pappy O'Daniel. This maneuver would throw the election into the House of Representatives, with the happy solution that "a Southern man will emerge as President of the United States." Just how Eastland figures this last step in the process is a mystery, since each state delegation in the House would be allowed only one vote, and there are only eleven states in the solid South.

Nevertheless, the cry has been taken up, and Washington resounds with the threats of a party revolt that would make Chairman McGrath forget all about the Wallace walkout. Senator Overton of Louisiana urges "mass-meetings" throughout the South to protest against the President's tyrannical effort to impose civil rights on a free people. Mr. Truman has been denounced in the House for "stabbing his best friends in the back." And Ed Gossett, the Texas Representative who opposes all immigration except cheap Mexican labor, speaks darkly of "our archaic election system [which] has placed control of the two major parties in the hands of minorities in New York and Chicago."

There is nothing in the President's admirable ten-point program for civil rights that is so novel as to produce this wave of apoplexy. Almost all the proposals have been made before, by Truman and by Roosevelt, and they were no doubt fully expected. What appears to

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be behind the barrage is the cynical, yet naive, reasoning that if the President can cater to the liberals of the party in order to keep them from following the Wallace lead, he can be made to yield to the bourbons under threat of a similar break on the right. Specifically, the right-wing Southerners want more of a voice in the forming of party policy; they would like a restoration of the two-thirds' rule, though they know that's pretty hopeless; they want an end to party sponsorship of anti-poll-tax, anti-lynching, and Fair Employment Practices legislation; and, perhaps above all, they want the vice-presidential nomination for one of their own.

None of these demands are new, and neither is the Eastland threat to bolt the party by way of the Electoral College. Texas tried it in 1944, instructing its electors to by-pass the party's nominees unless its terms were met at the convention. The ultimatum was ignored, and the electors felt free to vote for the "distinguished Southerner" of their choice until the high court of the state decided that they would have to follow the election returns instead and vote for the distinguished New Yorker chosen at the polls.

Southern legal talent can probably devise ways of taking advantage of the archaic machinery of the Electoral College, and if not, there is always the theoretical possibility of creating a fourth party. But what the Southern politicians forget when they fancy themselves in the same tactical position as the Wallace rebels is that, unlike the latter, they have absolutely nothing to gain by a break. They have no objective, either immediate or remote. In the third-party crowd the Communists know exactly what they are after—the defeat of the Marshall Plan—while others, like Wallace himself, think in terms of a national party that may not amount to much in 1948 but will have the possibility of growth. The Southerners, on the other hand, can expect no quick benefits from electing a Republican, and in the long view a strictly Southern party is obviously too self-limiting ever to contemplate a national victory.

This is not the stuff of which political parties are made, and Mr. Truman will hardly be justified in making burnt offerings at a shrine so deliberately rigged up for no purpose other than to receive them. It is true that with each passing year of more or less progressive Democratic rule the conservative Southerners grow more restive, more choleric, and more incongruous in the party of Roosevelt, and the time will no doubt come when this anomalous arrangement will go into the dustbin. When it does, it will not be to clear the way for a regional party that makes no political sense nationally but to permit the breaking up of an artificial solidarity that now forces the Sparkmans, Arnalls, and Patmans of the South to share a political home with its Eastlands, Talmadges, and O'Daniels.

The A. F. of L.'s Morning After

BY MURRAY KEMPTON

IF ONE or even a dozen acts of political ineptitude could kill the American Federation of Labor, it would long since have ceased to be more than a memory. This consoling thought must have occurred to the more sophisticated of the A. F. of L.'s leaders last week as they held their heads over the Burton K. Wheeler fiasco, an episode that has sent the A. F. of L. off to the political wars with a monumental hang-over. Even as told from inside the A. F. of L. executive council, which within twenty-four hours selected, announced, and then rejected the rasping Montanan as its political director, the story of his temporary designation sounded as incoherent as those morning-after anecdotes which go, ". . . then I had a couple, and Charlie bought a round, and I forget the rest."

Wheeler's transient hour was possible only because the Federation elders had reached a mood of desperation over the limping pace at which the newly created Labor's League for Political Education had moved through its first two months. It had no local chapters to speak of; no significant A. F. of L. union had marked its formation with the slightest acceleration of political activity; and, most galling of all, the Federation could not find a national director of stature.

The job of piloting the $5,000,000 political machine had been spurned by what amounted almost to a directory of displaced New Dealers. The last rejection had come from Andrew Biemiller, a Wisconsin ex-Congressman who thought so little of the job that he preferred to gamble on getting back to the House. George Meany, the A. F. of L.'s secretary-treasurer, had been proposed, only to be vetoed by Dan Tobin, the Teamsters' boss, who appears to be increasingly cool toward the whole scheme. The very day before they had promised to name their director, the members of the executive council sat around a table in Miami's Alcazar and once more began dealing from the bottom of what seemed a badly worn deck, when George Harrison, president of the Railway Clerks,

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suddenly came up with the name of Burton K. Wheeler.

The council is not too provincial and politically isolated to include a few members who would naturally gag at the thought of Wheeler, but one such doubter who has tried for eleven years to stimulate the Federation's political activity said later that he would have accepted the devil to get the project started. Yet the odor of political brimstone about the man who so passionately hated Roosevelt was strong enough to overpower at least one council member even while William Green was announcing the appointment. David Dubinsky, with the circumspection that has always assured him a respectful hearing in A. F. of L. councils, began to point out that Wheeler was a controversial figure whose very presence in the league might split the Federation politically at a time when it needed more than ever to hang together. It was not any dossier on Wheeler's America First activity that made the Federation men reconsider but Dubinsky's shrewd persuasiveness. Wheeler was through, and his subsequent declination and offer to serve in an advisory capacity merely provided a graceful exit for both sides. Whereupon the council started from scratch, got nowhere, and decided to put off the decision another month.

Burton K. Wheeler

THE extraordinary parochialism which enabled most of the A. F. of L.'s leaders to accept Wheeler in the first place is perhaps the most instructive aspect of the whole dreary tale. For them it was enough that the former Senator's labor record was fairly clean, that he was popular with most of the railway unions, and that his appointment might be considered a peace gesture toward John L. Lewis. None of which is too odd, of course, since the Taft-Hartley law is the A. F. of L.'s sticking point, and a man's record as an America Firster is a matter of general indifference. Fundamentally the A. F. of L. is still a vested interest and will go to bat only in defense of its own immediate objectives. This is the more true because the final testing ground of Labor's League for Political Education is not a Miami council table but the hundreds of grimy little halls around the country where union business is carried on. These units recognize little in common but fear of government regulation—to which no one can testify more eloquently than Mr. Wheeler, who carried William Green's blessing back to Montana in the last Democratic primary and found the Butte A. F. of L. dead set against him.

The terms of the Taft-Hartley law demand that the political director, whoever he may be, must organize this blob into a political instrument financed entirely by the voluntary gifts of its members. He must rise above an indifference which has so far kept the executive council from carrying out a line of the shiny political agenda set forth at San Francisco six months ago. With Senator Taft the only conceivable Republican nominee who lacks at least one friend in the Federation's top circles, there is small chance that the league will really begin to move until after the major party conventions.

Nevertheless, one can look to the locals for hope that the league will be formidable in November. The myth that the A. F. of L. is a tired, archaic institution dies hard; actually the Federation has never been more vigorous on the trade-union level. Federation organizers are signing up 500,000 members a year. And—almost undirected—they are laying the foundation for a nation-wide political campaign. Since the Republican Party is committed to campaign, at least to some extent, on the basis of the new labor law, these autonomous A. F. of L. units are bound to be important instruments for Mr. Truman. In Bill Hutcheson's bailiwick of Indiana, for example, the president of the State Building Trades, who is also commissioner of labor in a Republican administration, spoke recently at a rally where A. F. of L. members were urged to vote against the Taft-Hartley Congressmen. The Cincinnati A. F. of L. has told Taft's lieutenants that henceforth it will forgo its traditional privilege of helping to choose Republican candidates. The secretary of the Kentucky Federation of Labor, a lifelong Republican, helped elect New Dealer Earl Clements to the governorship last fall. And the Minnesota Federation of Labor is actively campaigning against Senator Ball.

The business agents who will be L. L. P. E.'s shock troops laugh privately at predictions that they will raise the eight-million-dollar quota set for them, but, what is more important, they are coolly sure they will get half that much. And four million dollars should be enough to shake the ballot boxes, being a good million more than the Republican Party has allotted for its whole national campaign.

Basically the A. F. of L. has gone into politics with a grudge, and should this grudge be satisfied at the polls in November, Labor's League may well fall into the political torpor that has always been characteristic of the Federation. Actually this might be less than a complete disaster; after all, there is something a little frightening in a display of political strength by men who would so lightly and casually intrust themselves to the guidance of Burton K. Wheeler in an election campaign that will fix the country's foreign policy for years to come.

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Art as Soviet Artillery

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, January 20

ONE Russian literary critic said to me half-jokingly: "If our literature today is not more varied and less strictly functional it is all your fault—the fault of the British and the Americans. With the present capitalistic encirclement we cannot afford to take things easy." The functionalism of Soviet literature is now to be strengthened: it must stimulate the Five-Year Plan and emphasize the capitalist world's unrelenting hostility to the Soviet Union. Because they fulfil this demand, some books which have not been available for years have been reprinted in large editions—for instance, a selection of Aseyev's verse which contains a ferocious poem on how the British occupation forces in Baku in 1919 shot twenty-six Bolshevist commissars.

The other day *Pravda* published an article on the thirtieth anniversary of the Soviet security police, successively called "Cheka," "N. K. V. D.," and "M. V. D.," warmly recommending its vigilance and that of the people at large against "snooping foreigners." The press has also warned that foreign snoopers are trying to carry on "insidious Western culture propaganda among the less hardened and wobblier members of the Soviet intelligentsia."

The contact between Soviet culture and bourgeois Western culture is naturally very thin indeed just now. Soviet art and Soviet literature, "the most advanced in the world," are going their own way. Not many modern bourgeois books are translated, and few foreign films are shown. Not a single British post-war film has been shown anywhere, though Russian experts who saw them privately thought well of "Henry V," "Odd Man Out," "Brief Encounter," "Great Expectations," and several others.

A typical example of the Soviet approach to Western culture is a long survey of present-day English, French, and American literature by I. Anisimov in the current number of *October*. Bourgeois English literature is finished, the author says. "What could be more typical of this post-war England," he goes on, "than T. S. Eliot's new [*sic*] poem 'The Waste Land,' full of despair and prophecies of war and perdition?"

The article teems with phrases like "religious obscurantism" (the Sitwells and Evelyn Waugh), "mystical rubbish" (Graham Greene), "apocalyptic frenzy," "anti-Communist hysteria in the name of so-called free art," "poisonous saliva squirting over all that is progressive and imbued with respect for men" (Koestler), "lack of all conviction" and "jitters" (Stephen Spender, "once a progressive poet"). The final paragraph, however, says that there is still hope for England while it has writers like Priestley, Sean O'Casey, and James Aldridge.

But if English literature is chiefly contemptible in its escapism, French literature is more actively wicked. The political and commercial purpose of the existentialists, in Anisimov's view, is "to discredit as human beings the men of the Communist-inspired Resistance movement." "Sartre, though nominally of the Resistance, constantly struggles against human heroism and human greatness"; and the Soviet critic "refuses to be taken in by Sartre's satirical passages on Daladier, Chamberlain, and Hitler." French literature may survive as long as men like Aragon, Eluard, and Chamson continue to write, but for the moment the outlook is almost as bleak as in England.

As for American literature, most of it has gone crazy over psychoanalysis, insanity, anti-communism, and sexiness, and even formerly distinguished writers like Eugene O'Neill and Steinbeck must more or less be crossed off. For the erotic, the subconscious, and egocentric the Russians have no use at all.

The heroes and heroines of Soviet literature are exceedingly pure; loyal comradeship and marriage are, with rare exceptions, the recognized forms of relationship between the sexes. Relations are essentially pure among all the young people in Fadeyev's "Young Guard" and in Polevoi's "Story of a Real Man"—the story of a fighter pilot who with superhuman, "purely Soviet" will-power succeeds in retraining himself as a fighter after the amputation of both legs.

Nekrasov's novel "Stalingrad" is one of the best and most truthful of Russian war novels. It portrays the grimness and discouragement of the retreat, with its examples of inefficiency and cowardice, as convincingly as the moments of true heroism and the atmosphere of warm human comradeship during the great Stalingrad battle. I would also put in the top rank of recent Soviet books a much shorter narrative, "The Star," by E. Kazakevich, a miniature novel describing the heroic end of a reconnaissance party. It is an "optimistic tragedy," in which every character is memorable and drawn with something of Mérimée's precision and psychological insight.

Now, however, we are told that more urgent tasks face Soviet writers than reminiscing about the war. Literature must portray life in industry; it must build up the new hero of our times—the Soviet worker; it must show what is the mentality that makes Soviet workers

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toil as they do, and why they work harder and better than they did in the thirties. Nor may it neglect the party.

TWO seemingly unassailable novelists, Fadeyev and Simonov, have been severely reproved by *Pravda* and other papers. Fadayev's long novel about the Komsomol resistance organization, "The Young Guard," was awarded the Stalin Prize, and the critics were uniformly enthusiastic. But later it was discovered that it had misrepresented the withdrawal from Krasnodon during the German offensive as a rather shameful panicky stampede and portrayed the Young Guard as the product of the spontaneous enthusiasm of a handful of young people, neglecting to point out that the organization was in fact part of a great resistance network which had been woven by the more experienced hands of the Communist Party.

Simonov's new novel, "Smoke of the Homeland," is criticized first, and rightly, for being a sloppy job, and second for being based on a muddle-headed conception of what constitutes true Soviet patriotism; his hero, just back from America, makes "some perfectly sound remarks about capitalist civilization," but his whole approach to Russia is much too contemplative, and neither he nor any of the other persons in the book represents the patriotic man of action of post-war Russia who ought to be depicted for Soviet readers—a man combining energy and efficiency with a burning faith in communism. *Pravda* rapped the critics for praising the novel simply because it was "always safe" to praise an "accepted writer like Simonov."

The hundreds of theaters presenting stage versions of "The Young Guard" or Simonov's play about villainous American press magnates, "The Russian Question," are packed, and the emotional effect of these plays is unquestionable. Angry laughter rocks the audience as it watches the antics of the American scoundrels. Stalin, Molotov, Zhdanov, Beria, Malenkov, Kaganovich, and other members of the Politburo were at the Moscow Art Theater the other night to see "The Russian Question" and appeared to enjoy themselves immensely, often bursting into laughter and clapping at the sharper wisecracks. At another performance of Simonov's play a Russian airman, in the interval, sat down at my table in the buffet and exclaimed, "This play makes my blood boil," and then burst into a stream of abuse of the Americans, recounting their revolting behavior as he had seen it in Germany.

It will be interesting to see what the theater produces in 1948 in the way of new plays. Old, new, and would-be playwrights have certainly been working like mad, the competent government committee having had no fewer than 2,230 plays submitted to it in the last few months. Nearly all are on topical subjects.

Of recent Soviet films the best, in my experience, is Donskoy's "Village Schoolmistress," with that admirable actress, Vera Maretskyaia, as the central character. It is the simple story of a woman who as a young girl, before the Revolution, goes out into the wilds to bring light to the abysmal darkness and barbarity of a remote village. During the thirty years of the Soviet system she continues her work, making it a success by her courage, energy, and warm human qualities. Technically and in every other respect it is a good film, which would appeal to any audience anywhere. It also sets forth convincingly the great progress that has been made in education under the Soviets.

The dynamic vigor of the present Five-Year Plan is demonstrated in such recent large documentary films as "Leningrad" and "Soviet Ukraine," the latter in color. An unusual and interesting film is "Miqlukho-Maklai," the story of the Russian explorer and anthropologist who went to New Guinea in the 1870's. The film makes the point that the Papuans are potentially just as intelligent as any "superior" white race.

MUSICAL activity in Moscow continues on a big scale. Interesting examples of early nineteenth-century Russian chamber music were recently played, notably the charming quartets and piano trio of Alabiev, known abroad only as the author of "The Nightingale," on which Liszt wrote his famous fantasia.

The biggest musical event of the season was undoubtedly the first performance in Moscow—by that best of all Soviet conductors, the Leningrad conductor Mravinsky—of Prokofiev's Sixth Symphony. It has been hailed as more than usually profound for Prokofiev; this remark applies to the first, mostly lyrical and in parts exquisitely melodious, first movement, and to the second movement, the largo, which is partly contemplative, partly dramatic, with unusual orchestral richness and moments of great intensity accentuated by trumpet blasts which make the whole thing all the more reminiscent of Scriabin. And then, in the third movement, we get the "old" Prokofiev with a vengeance; starting like a Beethoven rondo, this vivace becomes so uproarious and literally funny that the audience sits back grinning and chuckling as each new passage, much funnier even than his early "Scherzo Humoristique" for four bassoons, unfolds itself. "Rather pointless, that third movement," I later heard one authority remark, a little sourly. Prokofiev, grinning like a naughty schoolboy, received a great ovation.

Miaskovsky's Twelfth Quartet was recently performed for the first time—a rather less exciting work than his two recently published piano sonatas and his rather Brahmsian Song and Rhapsody for Piano. Shostakovich has so far produced nothing new, but is working on his Tenth Symphony and also on a new work about which he has not made up his mind whether it is to be a violin sonata or a violin concerto. A new symphonic poem by Khachaturian has also been announced.

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Outlawing Mass Murder

BY ALAN BARTH

EVERY civilized nation has a law forbidding homicide—the killing of one human being by another. Yet the nations of the world have never, until now, either individually or collectively, had a law forbidding the killing of whole groups of people by other groups or by the governments under which they live.

Group killing is not an imaginary or theoretical crime. But the human mind finds it difficult to remember, as it found it difficult to grasp, that in a single concentration camp, Birkenau, approximately 1,765,000 Jews were put to death by poison gas between April, 1942, and April, 1944, their bodies then burned in specially designed furnaces and their ashes distributed as fertilizer.

Such mass killing should not be called homicide; nor is it an atrocity. A homicide is committed upon an individual for reasons that pertain to him personally. An atrocity is a wanton brutality. The Birkenau killings were altogether impersonal—motivated, that is to say, only by the identification of the individual victims with a group. And they were systematic and purposeful. The gas chambers and furnaces were scientifically contrived instruments for the extermination of an entire group. Of course only the scope and callousness of these killings provided any element of novelty: Jews have been the victims of pogroms elsewhere; Turks have massacred Armenians; jehads are as old as history; Moslems and Hindus and Sikhs are slaughtering one another in India in the name of religion today.

Until lately we have not even had a word for this kind of killing. One has been coined, however, by a Polish scholar and jurist, Professor Raphael Lemkin, who escaped from the Nazi terror in Poland, came to this country to join the faculty of Duke University, and served until recently as adviser to the United Nations secretariat. He fashioned the bastard word "genocide" out of the Greek *genos* (race, tribe) and the Latin *cide* (killing). "Genocide," he said in his monumental study, "Axis Rule in Occupied Europe," published in 1944 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against the individuals not in their individual capacity but as members of the national group. . . . Genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killing of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan . . . [for] the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves."

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On December 11, 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously adopted a resolution condemning genocide as a crime under international law. The resolution was introduced by the representatives of Cuba, Panama, and, ironically enough, India, and was passed largely through the efforts of the American delegate, Charles Fahy. It defined genocide simply as a "denial of the right of existence of entire human groups" and held the commission of this crime, whether by private individuals or public officials, to be punishable wherever the culprits might be found.

The Assembly could not itself prescribe punishment or provide the machinery to make its condemnation fully effective. It did, however, instruct the United Nations secretariat to prepare a draft of an international convention outlawing genocide, to be circulated among the member nations for scrutiny and comment and to be discussed and perfected by the Economic and Social Council. The proponents of this convention hoped that the Economic and Social Council would complete its work in time to present a final draft to the 1947 meeting of the Assembly, but their hope was not realized. Expectations that definitive action would be taken at the current session of the council have been dampened by the inability of the experts to agree on the legalistic terms to be used in the pact.

IT SHOULD by no means be supposed that the Assembly resolution of December, 1946, standing by itself, is a mere empty gesture. On the contrary, it expresses the moral sense of the world, as formulated by its most important deliberative body. As a result of this resolution all nations have now the legal right, as they never did before, to intervene in any country where genocide is committed. This legal right is, to be sure, somewhat theoretical in the present status of the United Nations, as is amply illustrated by the helplessness with which the world has watched the bloody religious strife in India and Pakistan. It could be enforced only by an international police force or by war.

Nevertheless, the resolution is certain to prove a formidable deterrent to the kind of systematized persecution of a racial or religious minority which the Nazis instituted in Germany in the thirties. Persons responsible for such a program would now know that they could be held accountable by the civilized world. It was the lack

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of just this sort of declaration of international law which gave rise to the most serious objections to the Nürnberg trials—that is, that they were *ex post facto* in character—and which prevented punishment of the Nazis for the infamous wrongs they inflicted on their own subjects. Attempts to exterminate a minority can no longer be defended on grounds of national sovereignty.

Moreover, persons guilty of the crime of genocide, whether private individuals or heads of state, can be apprehended, tried, and punished in any country if they dare to cross their own frontiers. Their position is like that of pirates; they are condemned by the world and liable to arraignment wherever law and order prevail. The courts of every nation have long had jurisdiction over persons accused of piracy, traffic in narcotics, or white slavery. Genocide is now in the same category.

But an international convention on genocide would undoubtedly facilitate the prevention and punishment of the crime. It would require signatory nations to enact domestic legislation for implementing it and either to prosecute offenders or surrender them to the international court of justice for prosecution. If, for example, the members of a dictatorship guilty of genocide and overthrown by a domestic revolution should seek asylum elsewhere in the world, the country to which they fled could not treat them as ordinary political refugees but would be obliged to consider them international criminals, fugitives from international justice.

THE draft convention prepared by the U. N. secretariat obligates its signers "to prevent all acts of genocide and to punish all persons guilty of such acts, wherever they occur." It distinguishes three types of genocide: (1) physical—killing people directly or subjecting them to work or conditions which bring about their death; (2) biological—preventing reproduction through sterilization, breaking up families, or preventing marriages; and (3) cultural—destruction of the spiritual life of a national, racial, or religious group by eliminating leaders and razing churches, schools, libraries, museums, and the like.

Several countries, the United States among them, have registered objections or expressed reservations in respect of the wording of the draft, while continuing to support it in principle. The convention is therefore unlikely to achieve general ratification in precisely its present form. The chief complaint appears to be that it is loosely drawn, that the implications of the section dealing with cultural genocide in particular are not entirely clear.

There are those who argue that such an unwieldy body as the Economic and Social Council will be unable to rewrite the convention so as to make it acceptable to the

"SOMEHOW I CAN'T IMAGINE ERNIE ARRIVING ON AN UMBRELLA"

London *Express*—Canada Wide

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member governments of the Assembly, and that the task ought to be intrusted to a committee of jurists. This is countered by the assertion that genocide is essentially a social, not a legal, problem. There are others, the British especially, who wish the genocide convention to be made part of a general codification of international law, incorporating the findings of the Nürnberg tribunal. The session of the General Assembly that adopted the genocide resolution also voted approval of the Nürnberg principles, and the British contention that the two are closely related has much merit. Either of these alternatives to the action proposed would, obviously, involve a considerable period of delay.

A general codification of international law would require many years of the most patient and hair-splitting labor. Agreement on the prohibition and punishment of genocide seems so fundamental, so relatively simple, and so readily separable from the general body of law that one cannot help hoping it will be dealt with promptly, if for no other reason than to furnish an auspicious beginning for the more complicated task ahead. This hope can be realized only if the United States takes the lead in prodding the Economic and Social Council to act on genocide at once. What is wanted is no more than a translation into international law of universally accepted morality.

The New Italian Constitution

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, January 17

UNDER the new Italian constitution, approved by a joint session of Parliament on December 22 by a vote of 453 to 62, relations between church and state will be regulated by the Lateran Pacts, the agreement signed in 1929 by Mussolini and Pope Pius XI. The pacts were incorporated in the draft constitution on March 25, when the Constituent Assembly approved Article 5 (Article 7 in the definitive text) by a vote of 350 to 149. By accepting Article 7 the new Italian Republic signified that it recognizes Catholicism as the sole state religion. Going farther than Mussolini in making Italy a clerical state, it even ratified a provision that the pacts can be revised only with the consent of the Vatican.

In the debates of last spring Article 7 was supported by all the right-wing parties. Leading the opposition were not only the old-line Socialists under Nenni but also the group headed by Saragat and Pacciardi's Republicans. The Communists, holding the balance of power, kept everybody guessing about their position until the last moment.

The Christian Democrats warned that rejection of Article 7 would invite civil war. De Gasperi said that the very life of the republic depended on its acceptance; echoing the assertions of the Vatican's official organ, *Osservatore Romano,* he insisted that unless the Vatican Pacts were included in the constitution there would be no religious peace in Italy and even the "Roman question" might be reopened. The Uomo Qualunque movement tried to be more Catholic than the Pope.

The opposition put up a strenuous fight. Della Seta of the Republicans pleaded for the equality of all religions. Nenni warned that "the republic we have founded will have meaning only if it goes beyond the Risorgimento." "You ask us," he said, addressing the Christian Democrats, "to go backward. . . . By humiliating the state you humiliate the republic and the nation." Lami Starnuti, speaking for Saragat's group, predicted that the whole question would have to be reopened at the first favorable moment. Pacciardi reiterated the Republicans' demand for a non-confessional state. Demo-laborites, Actionists, and Social Christians, all voiced the opinion that responsibility for a possible resumption of religious struggle rested squarely on the Catholics and the right.

The discussion came to a dramatic end when Palmiro Togliatti announced that he and his followers believed the unity of the Italian people must be maintained and any possibility of religious dissension prevented. The whole democratic left was shocked; but it was also visibly amused when he denied that the Communists' decision had been influenced by thoughts of the coming elections. His speech was of course a move to win over the peasants and laborers who, especially in the south, might be inclined toward communism if they did not think it an enemy of their religion. The Catholics, moreover, had threatened to split the General Confederation of Labor, in which the Communists are prominent, if the Lateran Pacts were not made an integral part of the constitution.

FROM a juridical point of view the first paragraph of Article 7 makes no sense. It reads: "The state and the Catholic church are each in its own order independent and sovereign." Such a statement would be all right

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in an international treaty, but it has no place in a constitution, which defines the internal organization of a state. The second paragraph is open to more serious objection: "Their relations are regulated by the Lateran Agreements. Any modification of those agreements, if bilaterally accepted, does not require the procedure of a constitutional amendment." That means that if the Vatican refuses to revise the Lateran Pacts, they will remain the law of the land as long as the republic lives. The grave limitation which Article 7 imposes on the sovereignty of the state by denying it its fundamental right of denouncing treaties was pointed out in vain to the Assembly by former Premier Orlando and others.

Even more ominous are the many contradictions between the Lateran Pacts and the constitution. Article 3 of the latter says: "All citizens, without distinction of sex, race, language, or religious or political opinion, are equal before the law." But Article 5 of the Concordat—which with the treaty and the financial convention make up the Lateran Pacts—says: "In all cases priests who are guilty of apostasy or who have incurred [ecclesiastical] rebuke may not be taken for teaching posts or continued in them, nor may they fill any office or do any work in which they are in immediate contact with the public." (It may be remembered that this provision has prevented the renowned scholar Professor Ernesto Buonaiuti, a priest "guilty of apostasy," from returning to his History of Christianity chair at the University of Rome even under the new democratic regime.) Article 33 of the constitution declares that "art and science are free, and free is their teaching." But Article 36 of the Concordat says, "Italy considers the basis and apex of public schooling to be the teaching of Christian doctrine according to the forms derived from Catholic tradition." There is also the contradiction between Article 94 of the constitution, which proclaims that "justice is administered in the name of the people," and the statement in the Concordat that the grounds for annulment of a marriage and the dispensation for a marriage contracted but not concluded are matters reserved for the competence of the ecclesiastical tribunals.

The inclusion of Article 7 has deprived the articles dealing with religion, divorce, and education of all democratic meaning—if, that is, one believes the abolition of privilege to be an integral element of democracy. The constitution speaks of the equality of all citizens and of religious liberty, but nowhere does it say that all religions are equal before the law. The Catholic religion is accorded great preeminence, and the argument of the Christian Democrats that this is truly democratic because the overwhelming majority of Italians are Catholics resembles Mussolini's contention that his was a democratic regime since a majority of the people voted for the Fascist Party.

As for education, the church will have the right to make sure that textbooks and programs are in line with the "Catholic tradition." In elementary schools religious instruction is intrusted to the teacher, but the bishops have the right to send inspectors. Private schools may be recognized by the state as equal to public schools and may be subsidized by the state. While this looks like a democratic provision, it means only that the church will be free to compete with the state in education; no other organization has the financial means of doing so. Italy is not like America, where private schools can be created and maintained by private capital.

Concerning the indissolubility of marriage, proclaimed by the constitution, a memorandum submitted to the Assembly by the United Italian Jewish Communities makes the following points: "In the new Italian Republic will matrimony be considered as a merely civil or as a religious act? Will its validity and dissolubility be judged by the state or the church? We religious minorities take this position: if matrimony is to be a religious act, and its validity and dissolubility are to be judged by the Catholic church with respect to Catholics, we request parity of treatment and the right to judge the validity and dissolubility of our marriages by our ancient laws and our rabbinical tribunals. And Protestants and Moslems would be right in demanding the same thing." The memorandum adds: "As matters stand in Italy today, Catholics impose upon non-Catholics, in the most categorical way, the theoretical indissolubility of their marriage sacrament but have themselves the possibility of recourse to the Sacra Rota, which from time to time announces the annulment of marriages. This shows that there are for Catholics possibilities of dissolution that are denied to others."

IF IT were not for the inclusion of Article 7 the new constitution would be a very decent charter. It is the first the Italians have given themselves in all their long history, with the glorious exception of the constitution of Mazzini's short-lived Roman Republic in 1849. Its various articles reflect the present state of flux in the Italian situation. As Professor Calamandrei has said, "In the economic field everything is left to the future. The democratic constitution, instead of formally legalizing a revolution that has already taken place, must be considered an instrument for realizing in the future, by progressive and legal means, the social transformation that is only now beginning. . . . Our revolution has taken but one step—the republic; all the rest is yet to be done." This explains the constitution's lack of precision on many points. Meuccio Ruini, chairman of the committee that drafted it, has said that it is more like a pact or agreement reached by opposing parties. The left has been made happy by the recognition of the workers' right to strike; the Catholics have got the Lateran Pacts; the Republicans won their point about local autonomies, and so on.

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Parliament will consist of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate, which in certain specific cases will unite in a National Assembly. The deputies are elected by direct universal suffrage, one member for every 80,000 inhabitants. Senators are elected on a regional basis, five senators for each region, plus one for every 200,000 inhabitants. They must belong to certain categories of citizens—those decorated for valor during the First World War, former partisan leaders, members of the government or of parliament, university professors, judges. Senators are elected one-third by the regional councils and two-thirds by direct universal suffrage.

Initiative can be exercised by the people when a petition is signed by at least 50,000 electors. In certain cases the President of the Republic can submit to popular referendum a project of law that has been rejected by one of the two chambers. The two chambers unite in the National Assembly to elect the President, to give or deny a vote of confidence to the government, to declare war, to accuse the President or ministers of malfeasance and summon them before the Constitutional Court. The President appoints the members of the government and has the power to dissolve the chambers. These measures have been taken to avoid too frequent falls of the government, a major liability of a parliamentary regime.

One of the most interesting features of the constitution is its provision for regional autonomies. In America state legislatures deal with all matters not reserved for the federal government by the federal constitution. In Italy large legislative powers for dealing with local matters are granted to the regions. The legislative organ of each of the twenty-two regions is the regional council; the executive organ is the regional deputation and its president. Each region will have its own statutes. For historical, geographical, and linguistic reasons, some regions—Sicily, Sardinia, Alto Adige, the Aosta Valley—are granted greater autonomy than others.

A Constitutional Court has been created to resolve disputes concerning the attribution of the powers of the state and disputes between regions, and to judge the President and the ministers when impeached by the National Assembly. It will have less power than the American Supreme Court since regular legislation is not within its jurisdiction. Members of the court will be named by the National Assembly.

THE new constitution is of course not a perfect document. Article by article it is being widely criticized. Both conservatives and leftists, for once in agreement, feel that regional autonomy may endanger Italy's unity, and that state intervention will be necessary to raise the standard of living of the south to the same level as the north's. The Republicans reply that regional divisions are a historical fact which the constitution cannot ignore and that the legislative powers of the regions are too limited to be a threat to unity. Orlando thinks that the National Assembly will have too much power and the President too little. One party or a coalition of parties, he fears, will be able to rule the country.

The Assembly has given the new Italian Republic its charter, but much will depend on how the government voted into power at the March elections applies it. If the Christian Democrats win a victory, social and economic reforms are not likely to receive much attention. Article 7, however, will be strictly enforced.

In the Wind

THE WIND has prepared, for this Valentine's Day, a special report on the state of man's humanity to man.

In the Phillips Brooks House at Harvard University, for instance, there is a small bronze plaque under the bust of old Phillips himself which reads: "This House is Dedicated to Piety, Charity, and Hospitality." Directly under the plaque is tacked a white card with this message prominently inscribed thereon: "No Trespassing. Unauthorized Persons Are Not Allowed in This Building."

A bill requiring that the Mississippi state constitution be taught in the state's public schools was hotly contested recently in the legislature on the ground that its passage might make it easier for Negroes to vote.

John E. Owen, president of the National Apartment Owners' Association, told the Senate Banking Committee the other day that the housing shortage is "a figment of the imagination."

A nineteen-year-old Negro, Samuel Tito Williams, went on trial in New York last month for the slaying of a fifteen-year-old girl. When he got on the stand, he declared that a confession had been extracted from him by torture. According to the New York *Daily News*, he told of "being beaten for eleven hours with blackjack, club, and fists; of being burned with cigarettes, and of being kicked when he fell to the floor." At the end of one of these alleged torture sessions, Williams said, a policeman started to chant, "Save your soul, save your soul." This part of Williams's recital, the *News* said, "drew laughs from the jury."

And, finally, in Honolulu, Hawaii, an Assistant United States Attorney named William M. Blatt stood up in court several weeks ago to call for the dismissal of a case brought against the government by a chief naval warrant officer named Clinton Wilscam. Wilscam's four-year-old-son had died as the result of being dosed with some poisonous eye drops improperly prepared at the Aiea Naval Hospital. His father sued the United States for $20,000 damages. The government attorney asked that the case be thrown out on the ground that "the death of the child was not a loss but a financial benefit." If it cost $30 a month to support the child, he added, it could be assumed that it would have cost the Wilscams about $5,760 to raise their son. Therefore his death had really saved them money.

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Tourists' Dollars for ERP

BY HORACE SUTTON

A NOVEL proposal for helping along whatever European recovery program is finally adopted in Washington has come from an unexpected quarter. In a long report sent to the President and a number of Congressmen the American Express Company suggests that we send our dollars overseas in the pockets of American tourists.

Such painless intravenous feeding could be more effective than one might think. The report points out that from 1920 through 1939 Americans spent more money for foreign travel than for any single commodity produced outside the United States. During the twenty-year period the amount averaged $400,000,000 a year, about twice as much as was paid out for sugar, our largest import.

In coming years as much as a billion and a half could be spent annually on foreign travel, American Express declares, basing its estimate on the increase in the national income from $87 billion in 1929 to $150 billion today. This sum would represent $1,000 paid for a trip abroad by one in every eighty-eight Americans.

Much of the new wealth, the company believes, is in the hands of people in the wide middle-income brackets, and this fact, coupled with the great pent-up demand, will cause a million Americans to go abroad as soon as conditions permit. A survey made recently by the *Saturday Review of Literature* indicated that one in every three of its readers was contemplating a trip in the near future. Veterans are expected to stream back to Europe just as they did after World War I; the company thinks their interest in Europe will account for five million trips in the next few years.

Another factor stimulating travel is the prevalence of the paid vacation. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 86 per cent of all employees in private industry now receive paid vacations. This means at least a half-million more travelers, says American Express. Even if the vacation is a short one, airplane travel makes a trip abroad possible. One can leave New York in the evening, sleep on the way across the Atlantic, and arrive in Paris in the morning. Los Angeles is a day and a half away from Stockholm.

The American travel industry, says American Express, is skilled, alert, and ready to merchandise travel abroad. It is spending its own money to promote foreign travel, but it thinks the government ought to help. Travel, the report points out, gets our dollars overseas and into circulation more quickly than any other method that has been proposed. The flow will begin the moment Americans in large numbers buy their steamship or airplane tickets from foreign lines. Their purchases abroad can swell it into a vast stream, and since the government wants to provide Europeans with dollars, one of the first things it should do is raise the value of the goods that the returning traveler can bring in free of duty. The present limit of $100 was established in 1897, a year when prices in this country were the lowest ever known. The company quotes a Treasury Department estimate indicating that if Americans were permitted to bring back $1,000 worth of merchandise duty free, our tax structure would scarcely feel a tremor.

We also need more and cheaper transportation facilities. At present the United States has exactly one major vessel in the transatlantic passenger service. The total of passenger-ship accommodations is exactly half the 87,000 berths available each month in 1939. And the prices are much too high for that 85 per cent of the vacationing public which, according to a New York state survey, plans to spend less than $500 for a holiday. The present overseas airplane fares are equal to or above first-class ship fares.

European countries, if they want to sell their wares, must establish a rate of exchange which assures the tourist "dollar-value" abroad. And they must cut the red tape of passports, visas, police certificates, political attestations, and photographs. The report recommends that governments receiving financial aid from us be required to spend some of the money to attract American travelers and to improve facilities for taking care of them when they arrive.

LOOKING BACKWARD

Seventy-five Years Ago in "The Nation"

FEBRUARY, 1873—The sentiment of equality has sunk in so deep that almost everybody shrinks from assuming any moral superiority, even to a murderer. We approach a criminal with a sheepish, humble air, which seems to say that there is no knowing when we may cut a throat or pick a pocket ourselves. Tweed has embodied this feeling in a shrewd, humorous saying which has since become popular slang—"you know how it is yourself." This tendency in the popular mind, too, is stimulated by the later theology, which dwells strongly on the distinction between the sinner and his sin, and makes "love" of the one perfectly compatible with hatred of the other, separating conduct almost completely from men and women, and relegating vice as an abstraction to some metaphysical limbo in which it may be stigmatized and kicked about without hurting anybody's feelings.

Fifty Years Ago

FEBRUARY, 1898—The sort of dry rot which seems to have overtaken nearly all democratic legislatures does not act on ours in the same way. In Europe they fall to, and smash each other offhand. Ours do not feel enough to indulge in any violence about anything.

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Del Vayo—The Failure in Communication

Lausanne, January 30

IN ROME they tell a story about Palmiro Togliatti which seems to me to illustrate perfectly the tragic division of the world today. A few weeks ago a good American liberal, one of those who still believe it possible to reunite the two blocs in a common effort for reconstruction and peace, asked Togliatti why he refuses interviews to American journalists. By way of reply the Italian Communist leader posed a number of questions. "Tell me," he said, "which is the strongest Communist state in the United States?" The American liberal smiled: "A Communist state in my country! You're joking." "Which city, then?" "No city—you know very well there isn't a Communist city in America." "Then perhaps you have a suburb like the *ceinture rouge* of Paris?" "No, not even that." "Well, can you name a street in any American city that is Communist?" "No, I can't think of a single one." "Then," said Togliatti, "what is the point of my receiving American correspondents and making statements to the American public?"

Americans may think the story absurd, but it symbolizes the failure in communication that separates them not only from the Communists but from many other Europeans. Togliatti himself is anything but narrow-minded; even his adversaries consider him one of the best political minds in Italy. Some American correspondents here who were inclined to share that opinion last year feel differently now: as one of the ablest of them said to me, "In the past six months De Gasperi has outwitted Togliatti in every encounter." Without denying the Premier's shrewdness or skill in manipulating his former associates I find the comparison far too simple. Free Togliatti from the limitations imposed by the rigid discipline of his party, and I am convinced he would become such a powerful force that no Cabinet could dispense with his services. No, the Communist chieftain, as a person, is neither dogmatic nor inflexible, and because of that his reply to the American liberal is the more significant. And a good number of left Europeans who are not Communists begin to fear that anti-Russian, anti-red feeling in America has reached the point where any attempt to present the complex political problems of Europe is futile.

In part this feeling is due to the disappointment of European progressive circles in the behavior of similar groups in the New World. That America should have a Westbrook Pegler or a Eugene Lyons occasions no dismay. Nor would anyone here be surprised to see a strong American Socialist Party, if one existed, launch the kind of anti-Communist drive in which the European parties are now engaged. What disturbs European progressives is the tendency of many liberal American journalists and intellectuals to join the right in denouncing new leftward trends in Europe. In the last two months I have had to answer any number of questions about well-known writers, newspapermen, or radio commentators frequently quoted in the reactionary press whose political evolution their European friends are at a loss to understand. Copies of *The Nation* that reach Rome are eagerly snatched up by people who refuse to believe that the old American tradition of free, open-minded discussion is dead.

The state of mind here is entirely different: I would cite as an example a recent event in peaceful Switzerland. Just before Christmas Professor André Bonnard of the University of Lausanne delivered a lecture entitled "Vers un nouvel humanisme," in which he analyzed the conflicting claims of Western and Eastern democracy. As I listened I was reminded of the excitement I caused last year when I discussed the same subject in this column; in Europe no intellectual of any stature would dream of considering Bonnard's lecture a piece of pro-Communist propaganda. The Swiss professor raised this question: Suppose that in a certain Balkan country before the war the formal principle of human rights was observed, freedom of the press existed, and the state apparatus included regular courts, a Parliament, and the like, but at the same time millions of its citizens lived a dog's life. And suppose that in the same country the principles of individual rights and parliamentary procedure have now retrogressed, but the system of production and distribution has been revolutionized and millions enjoy a more human existence. Which of these situations represents a higher form of development?

For R. H. Markham, author of "Tito's Imperial Communism," the choice posed by Professor Bonnard does not even exist; in his book he dismisses the whole question with the remark that "Tito has effected no basic social or economic changes." But the Swiss have only to pick up one of their most conservative newspapers to discover proof to the contrary. This month the *Gazette de Lausanne* featured a series of articles on the Balkans, including a number of dispatches by Eric de Montmollin on "Today's Hungary" which Ambassador Vambery would find encouraging reading. De Montmollin describes the work of Hungary's Communist ministers of transport and public health in much the same way an Anglo-Saxon journalist would write about Einaudi, the Italian Minister of Finance, or René Mayer of France, both of whom are trying to steer their countries out of economic difficulties by methods that are controversial and yet worthy of being discussed with respect.

Today Europe presents many fascinating political problems whose importance tends to be lost because the cold war is slowly freezing the intelligence of normally reasonable people. These problems cannot be dismissed by name-calling on either side. Such tactics merely make it difficult for average Americans to recognize the real progress being made in Europe today, especially on the other side of the East-West barrier. The Balkan countries are working hard; they are being united by a series of friendship and trade pacts which are slowly creating a new situation in that part of the world. Such developments are important for America to understand, but the possibility of understanding is weakened by the failure in communication. And too many good liberals accept this dogmatic division as inescapable.

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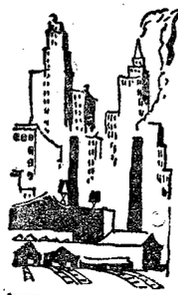

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

While the Public Freezes

TWO weeks ago I wrote about the oil shortage and its effect on prices. Since then we have experienced more cold weather, and in many communities, particularly in the Northeast and Midwest, inadequate oil supplies have continued to cause widespread suffering.

While the public freezes, Congress fiddles. Instead of giving the Administration authority to control prices and allocate supplies, it has been clamoring for a prohibition of oil exports. So far the government has resisted this demand, though it has cut back export quotas for the current quarter by 18½ per cent. A total ban on shipments to foreign countries would be a serious blow to Canada, our largest customer for oil, and would add immensely to European difficulties. And the relief afforded to American consumers would not be very significant. In the present quarter it would amount to less than two days' domestic consumption.

Actually, we are now importing considerably more oil than we are exporting. By cutting off exports we would probably diminish imports, since our foreign customers would be forced to compete more vigorously with us for Caribbean oil. A consequence of such a switch in supply lines would be increased strain on transport facilities, the inadequacy of which is one of the major elements in the current crisis.

The oil shortage is a world affair, and it cannot be tackled by the wholly nationalist measures advocated by many American oil men and politicians. For months we have been hearing protests against the sale of tankers to foreign countries and the export of pipe and other scarce materials to the Middle East. Yet the vast, rapidly developing oil fields of that region are the chief hope for the early achievement of a balance between world supply and demand. In this country, according to some authorities, crude-oil production has been pushed to its safe limit; there, it is being held down for lack of means to transport it to market.

It has been apparent for some years that our consumption of oil—60 per cent of the world total—was outrunning domestic production. The long-term strategy of both the government and the major oil companies has been to check the drain on our reserves by encouraging foreign development. Eventually, it was foreseen, Western Europe, which before the war obtained the bulk of its oil from the Caribbean, would be supplied mainly from the Middle East, making Caribbean output fully available for the Western Hemisphere. The success of this program depends on the construction of pipe lines across the Arabian deserts so as to avoid the long, expensive tanker haul around the Arabian Peninsula and through the Suez Canal.

The one big obstacle to the program is political. Safety of this source of supply depends on the good-will and internal stability of a number of primitive Arab states. That explains why the State Department and the armed services, which have a big stake in oil supplies, have covertly opposed Zionist aspirations and are still intent on sabotaging the United Nations Palestine-partition plan.

Yet within the last few weeks what appears on the surface to be an alternative long-range oil strategy has been outlined in Washington. Two Cabinet officers, Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal and Secretary of Interior Julius Krug, have strongly urged Congress to authorize immediately a gigantic program for the synthesis of oil products from natural gas and coal. Mr. Forrestal, speaking to the House Armed Services Committee, adopted a very alarmist tone. Answering a leading question, he agreed that American Middle Eastern oil holdings had been jeopardized by our support of partition. He asserted that oil-well depletion in the United States was proceeding four times as fast as the development of new wells—a debatable statistic—and suggested that in the event of another war oil needs would exceed predictable supplies by at least two million barrels daily. Consequently, he argued, steps must be taken at once to insure that the United States remains self-sufficient in respect to oil.

The development of a synthetic industry with an output of two million barrels daily—equivalent to nearly 40 per cent of present crude output—would cost from $8 to $9 billion. It is unlikely that private enterprise would be willing to invest any such sum without government guaranties and subsidies, for estimated costs of production of synthetic oils are considerably above those of natural petroleum products. It follows that the program would lay a heavy new burden on a national budget already overloaded.

It would also place an almost insupportable burden on our heavy industries. Steel requirements alone for the synthetic plants, it is estimated, would amount to sixteen million tons, or five times total shipments to the oil and natural-gas industry last year. With the steel industry producing at capacity and unable to keep up with current demands, it is obvious that the rapid completion of the Forrestal-Krug program would only be possible at the expense of all other consumers of steel.

Facts like these make me wonder whether this grandiose scheme is a serious project or whether it is "synthetic" in quite another sense. Are its authors, perhaps, deliberately trying to raise more goose-flesh on the backs of a shivering public? Are they suggesting that appeasement of the Arab states is necessary to prevent a prolonged oil shortage? Are they really saying to the President, Congress, and the taxpayer: You must abandon support of partition so that there will be no interference with Middle Eastern oil developments, or you must be prepared to shoulder the enormous expense of a non-economic synthetic-oil program?

Personally I do not believe that these are genuine alternatives. The world needs the oil that underlies the Arabian sands, but the Arab states need the royalty revenue that is gushing forth in a growing golden stream. In the face of a firm stand they are most unlikely to risk the loss of so much potential wealth by carrying out their threats to cancel foreign concessions. But if we succumb to such threats, permitting the United Nations to be discredited, we shall find that our loss of international prestige is only a first payment on our oil. Successful blackmailers invariably return for a second and bigger bite.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD

BY ERNEST NAGEL

ONE of the dominant ideals of Western philosophy has been the construction of a coherent, logically related system of ideas in terms of which every phase of existence can be interpreted. No philosopher in recent decades has pursued this ideal with such distinction as has Alfred North Whitehead, who died at the age of eighty-six on December 30, 1947. Most of the great philosophical systems of the past were developed by men intimately familiar with the sciences of their day; and in this respect also, unlike most contemporary metaphysicians, Whitehead falls within the great tradition. Indeed, it was not as a speculative metaphysician that he first achieved eminence. His "Universal Algebra" and the "Principia Mathematica" (written in collaboration with Bertrand Russell) are contributions of classic importance to mathematics and logic; and his subsequent analyses of the foundations of mathematical physics have been judged as constituting a prolegomenon to every future philosophy of science. It is a moot question whether Whitehead's permanent place in the history of thought is made more secure by his scientific attainments or by his essays into philosophical cosmology. But in any event the essential features of his philosophy of organism are familiar to an audience not confined to his professional colleagues, and his system continues to influence the thinking of men in many different occupations. This unusual spectacle of a difficult philosopher with a wide circle of lay readers cannot be explained entirely in terms of Whitehead's scientific prestige, or in terms of the grace and frequent brilliance of his prose, or in terms of the sheer delight that his suggestive play of ideas evokes. His philosophical writings express some of the dynamic tensions of the society in which he lived, and they answer needs that are deep-seated and widely felt.

Philosophy may begin in wonder, but the wonder that rouses philosophical reflection must contain a large admixture of puzzlement. The puzzle controlling much of Whitehead's thought is produced by the apparent incongruity between the world encountered in immediate experience and the world allegedly disclosed by modern natural science. The familiar world of everyday experience is a continuum of sensuous qualities, and contains events and processes that are permeated with emotional and purposive values. On the other hand, the world as envisaged by an influential interpretation of classical physics consists of isolated bits of matter, shorn of all sensuous glory and stripped of any inherent direction or value. The latter world thus seems utterly alien to human experience; and if science renders a true account of the nature of things, it becomes difficult to accept the human scene as anything but an insubstantial appearance. But a conception of reality according to which the traits of things most prized by men have no genuine place in it converts human aspirations into a mockery; and worse still, it transforms the obvious efficacy of human actions into an unintelligible mystery.

It is one of Whitehead's signal achievements to have recognized that the radical bifurcation of man and nature, associated with what he called "scientific materialism," is not necessitated by physical science. He was able to show that the concepts of physics, far from describing a "real world" with which the genuine reality of things apprehended in immediate experience is incompatible, are abstractions referring to qualities and processes discernible in such experience. The task that Whitehead envisioned for philosophy was therefore that of supplying a critique of abstractions—a critique which would exhibit the derivation and the specific functions of abstractions in a world that contains much more than the skeletal patterns of change made explicit by natural science. But he not only proposed this task. He also developed a powerful intellectual technique for carrying it out, and used it to illumine the significance of a number of basic scientific concepts. Those who read with excitement his "Principles of Natural Knowledge," "Concept of Nature," and "The Principle of Relativity" when they appeared shortly after the First World War will scarcely forget the great hope these books inspired. They were a promise of a comprehensive philosophy that could take physics seriously for its disclosures concerning the executive order of nature, and that could at the same time recognize as irreducible factors in the scheme of things the qualities and purposive activities manifested to human experience.

The books Whitehead published after he joined the Harvard faculty in 1924—especially "Science and the Modern World," "Process and Reality," and "Adventures of Ideas"—continued the critique of abstractions he had begun so impressively. But they continued the critique in terms of conceptions cosmic in scope, rather than by exhibiting the import of abstractions in terms of their specific functions. He now presented a comprehensive vision of the universe that appeared to integrate and illumine an endless variety of events and processes. However, while the earlier analysis showed that the "senseless, valueless, purposeless" universe of scientific materialism is a consequence of the fallacy of misplaced concreteness, of mistaking the abstract for the concrete, Whitehead now maintained that nature can be made intelligible only if everything actual is assumed to have the traits generic to living organisms. Everything actual, according to this later doctrine, exhibits "feeling," everything actual manifests a selective activity akin to "purpose," everything actual is related essentially and "organically" to everything else. If the universe thus por-

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trayed no longer seems alien to human aspirations, it is because the features nature displays in all her sectors are strictly analogous to features displayed by the human organism. Indeed, moral and aesthetic beauty is now claimed to be the "aim" of all existence, and not merely an occasional achievement in the human arena of the cosmos. Whitehead's culminating philosophy, like that of Plato, is thus an attempt to combine an interpretation of the universe that is both rationalistic and religious—the rationalism conceived as the faith that at the base of things there is no mere arbitrary mystery, the religion freed from superstition and institutionalized dogma.

It is scarcely surprising that those seeking new foundations for ancient faiths, or rebelling against the discipline imposed by modern science on romantic speculation, have found in the philosophy of organism an answer to their needs. On the other hand, Whitehead's cosmology is a celebration of process and creative advance toward novelty as ultimate and pervasive traits of nature, and his system provides a fresh alternative to the parochial negations of many traditional patterns of thought. He was, in fact, sensitive as few technical philosophers have been to the movement of things and ideas, and to the subtleties and complexities of experience. The burden of much of his cosmic vision is carried by his aphoristic observation that "Life is an offensive directed against the repetitious mechanism of the Universe." He was an extraordinarily gifted spokesman, perceptive and wise, for everything nascent, venturesome, and potentially liberating.

Whitehead's philosophic cosmology is a vision which is articulated with amazing virtuosity but which rests less upon detailed argument than upon direct insight. While much of it is inspired by a mathematical conception of the universe, it also owes a heavy debt to the romantic tradition; and for all its stress upon the importance of time and the emergence of novelty, it has an obvious kinship with the absolute idealism of Hegel. In the hands of a great thinker disciplined by intimate contact with modern science, such as Whitehead was, the cosmology can undoubtedly be used to shed light on numerous basic problems. None the less, it is at least an open question whether the systematic use, by Whitehead or lesser men, of its organismic categories as ultimate principles of interpretation for everything whatsoever yields illumination rather than obscurity. To attribute "feeling" to whatever exists, to view all physical stresses as "appetitions," to see in the occurrence of any event the outcome of a "decision" between alternatives—what is this but to describe everything in nature in animistic terms, and to sanctify superstitions from which men have only partly freed themselves? Is it really clarifying and necessary, in order to find a place in the scheme of things for the human scene, to describe the cosmos as if one were writing a general anthropology? Moreover, does one achieve either knowledge or a better understanding of what is already known by simply giving new and potentially misleading names to already discriminated elements of nature—for example, by labeling all processes as having "aims"? And if we admit, as perforce we must, that no intellectual analysis, however thorough, can exhaust or reproduce the passage of concrete events, is it either well-advised or true to say that "logic is a fake"? Such, at any rate, are some of the doubts concerning Whitehead's philosophic cosmology that besiege many questioning minds. It is not Whitehead the speculative metaphysician who has won the profound admiration of all his readers. The excellence many of them cherish is the excellence found in Whitehead the acute analyst, the steadfast critic of closed systems and provincial dogmatisms, the incredibly sensitive commentator on the diversity and the flux of existence.

The Wisconsin Idea

THE LA FOLLETTES AND THE WISCONSIN IDEA. By Edward N. Doan. Rinehart and Company. $4.

THE La Follettes of Wisconsin have temporarily stopped making stormy political history. The founder of the dynasty is almost a quarter of a century dead: Bob, Jr., is going into the second year of private life since his twenty-one-year grip on a Senate seat was broken in 1946; his younger brother, Phil, three times governor of Wisconsin, is practicing law in Madison and trying to get back into politics by way of the MacArthur campaign.

It was to be expected that the present recess would be used for recording some of the colorful history they made in a half-century of insurgent politics. There are reports of several books in preparation, and it is said that Fola La Follette will soon publish the long-promised biography of her father, the preparation of which has tied up much of the documentary material essential to an authentic study.

Edward N. Doan, a former teacher of journalism at the University of Wisconsin, press secretary to the late Governor Goodland of Wisconsin, and major figure in Bob La Follette's disastrous campaign of 1946, has scored a scoop with the present volume. In doing so Doan has contributed the first telescoped account of the two La Follette Senators and their impact on Wisconsin and the nation. To everyone but the uninformed and hopelessly prejudiced it must seem a valuable study of a famous family and of American insurgent politics—a topic which Henry Wallace has lately brought back into the public eye.

Mr. Doan does not tell the whole story of the old Senator and Young Bob—he makes no pretense of doing so—and he makes only fleeting references to Phil, an omission which has been widely noted and frequently speculated about. He believes that the La Follettes have played a constructive role in social progress in the nation and in Wisconsin. His book, although a special plea, is nevertheless good and interesting history.

As many writers have done in dealing with Lincoln, Jefferson, Jackson, Norris, and other figures of history, Doan tends to overlook what some have criticized as political opportunism and mistakes of judgment. Where he has not overlooked them he has given his principals the benefit of every doubt. He does this most notably when he deals with the isolationist record of father and son. He does, however, point out some extenuating historical facts about the elder Senator which are not generally known and which demonstrate that he was not the blind isolationist many think him to have been.

Mr. Doan's attempt to show that Bob, Jr., was not really an isolationist in more recent times is not very convincing.

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He could have made a stronger case by showing that Bob was less rabid and more reasonable in the policy of non-intervention he followed than were the typical America Firsters. History will judge his record by the end product—his votes in the Senate—and they were the same as Wheeler's and Nye's.

But most people who have watched the two La Follettes carry on a battle for control of monopolies, protection of trade unions, social security, conservation of natural resources, and more direct responsibility of public officials to the people will be inclined with the author to make their judgments from the perspective history gives to the concrete social achievements the Progressives either wrote themselves or forced the old parties to accept. Doan starts and ends his book with that thesis.

He sets the framework for it in his introduction by comparing the political radicals to the "seekers" in the religious field—"those who forsake formal religious dogma in their search for direct knowledge of God." The Progressives, he asserts, "seek in the political field to develop a direct, responsive government in which each citizen is accorded the full dignity of sovereignty." What his research into the political career of the La Follettes uncovers he fits into that framework. While he draws on their public life for most of his material he warms the book up with frequent anecdotes concerning their personal affairs.

The real story of the "Wisconsin Idea" is not to be found in Mr. Doan's book, nor in any book that has been published about the La Follettes thus far. Actually the "Wisconsin Idea" is a misnomer which came into being because Wisconsin was writing into law, under the La Follettes, ideas that radicals were fighting for all over the nation. It was the strength and genius of Old Bob La Follette that caused the phrase the "Wisconsin Idea" to be attached to this body of principles, and he built the political organization that made Wisconsin the test tube for their trying out. After his dynamic personality was removed from the scene, it was only a matter of years before Wisconsin reverted.

It is true, as Doan finds, that respect for the things La Follette did and the values he held still set the measure by which Wisconsin politicians of all parties are judged. Outside newspapermen are frequently surprised at the comparative progressivism of the state's conservative politicians. But that respect, or fear, has been rapidly breaking down in recent years. Today Wisconsin has one of the most reactionary Congressional delegations of any state in the union, and the legislature is coming increasingly under the domination of big-business interests. The university, once invested with a defiant spirit of "winnowing and "sifting" for the truth, is timorous and hesitant under a big-business board of regents.

"The Progressive Party is dead," Doan concludes in his appraisal. The signs of complete disintegration are obvious. Bob La Follette rarely gets back to the state, though he continues to work for progressive principles as a private citizen in Washington. Phil La Follette has locked arms with some of the state's most notorious reactionaries in the MacArthur drive. The *Progressive,* the La Follette family weekly publication, buckled under after thirty-eight years of pub-

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lication. It has been revived as a monthly with the La Follettes out.

The author himself throws the last shovelful of dirt on the Wisconsin Idea. He says that the fight for progressive ideas goes on and names a handful of Republican Senators—Morse, Aiken, Tobey, Flanders, Ives, Cooper, Knowland—as the frontline fighters. Even assuming that all these could be considered progressives, it must be noted that the Wisconsin Idea has gone far afield for its defenders.

MILES MCMILLIN

Heroes of Painting

MODERN PAINTERS. By Lionello Venturi. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.

IN "MODERN PAINTERS" Professor Venturi considers the eight artists who, he believes, affected most strongly the course of painting from the French Revolution to the Franco-Prussian War. To each he devotes an essay filled with erudition, visual sensibility, and wisdom. Few writers on art combine these qualities. This book is not a history of early nineteenth-century painting, or an introduction for the layman, or a documentary sourcebook. It offers only a series of critical estimates; yet with the possible exception of Henri Focillon's two-volume survey it is the most provocative, cultivated, and discerning synthesis of its field yet published. One hopes it will be followed by studies of more recent painters.

Few will object to Venturi's selection of the heroes of painting between 1785 and 1870—Goya, Constable, David Ingres, Delacroix, Corot, Daumier, and Courbet. One might wish, however, for a further consideration of figures like Géricault and Bonington, whose lesser stature appears from Venturi's text to be due rather more to their early death than to the consequence of their art. Was Masaccio, the initiator of Renaissance painting who died at twenty-seven, only a "magnificent promise"? And Giorgione, who died at the same age as Géricault? Among the contemporaries of Goya and David does William Blake deserve no mention? Should Constantin Guys, Daumier's contemporary, be altogether eliminated?

Of the eight painters selected, one is Spanish, one is English, and six are French. Goya first sounded the modern idiom, "the heroic valor of the masses, of all that is ugly and vulgar." Constable, more than any other, broke down the ancient Mediterranean prejudice that painting, being a human activity, must represent man. On a basis of moral earnestness he elevated landscape to primary status for the Romantic age. Except for Goya and Constable, France appears to have had a monopoly on genius. Venturi gives no ready explanation for this national concentration. "That you must ask of God," he sagely advises.

Like all good books on art "Modern Painters" proposes a basic idea. Venturi believes that the history and the criticism of art necessarily merge, that each justifies the other. In this book he gives a thorough exemplification to what he earlier proposed in his "History of Art Criticism." To a remarkable degree he has remained faithful to his statement in the preface that "no judgment has been expressed which is not at the same time historically justified, and no information imparted whose purpose is not the justification of the judgment." Of how many books can this be said? How many writers seek conscientiously to avoid purely personal opinion on the one hand or unexploited documentation on the other? Few authors command the requisite scholarship for such a venture; fewer still can make of it a creative instrumentality. Among the lurid biographies of artists, the labored aesthetic dissections, the erudite padding, and the chichi brilliance that enjoy currency today "Modern Painters" stands all too much alone. The reason is simple enough: Professor Venturi combines an artist's understanding of art with a scholar's understanding of history.

Having given this book its due as a high-minded performance, one may object to certain details. Throughout these essays an impressionist standard of criticism prevails. The sketch often wins out over the final work, which is frequently, but not always, much larger and required considerable revision. For Goya, Constable, Delacroix, Corot, and perhaps even for Daumier and Courbet this point of view is relevant and generally rewarding. For David it is fairly disastrous, because his art is anything but one of evocation and improvisation. Like Fouquet and Louis LeNain, David is plastic rather than pictorial. (I use "plastic" in Roger Fry's sense, as does Venturi.) There is, moreover, a strongly plastic basis in the best work of Corot, Daumier, and Courbet, as Fry has made very clear. Interestingly enough, Venturi's paragraph on Courbet's magnificent "Sleeping Blonde" is substantially identical with Fry's estimate in "Transformations." When he assails David's "Death of Marat," Venturi does so on relevant plastic grounds: "the bathtub appears flat, without the requisite correspondence of volume with that of the body." Such passages are, however, the exception. Although David's finest work contains few lapses of this nature, he comes off badly because of Venturi's primarily pictorial—what in German criticism is called *malerisch*—approach. In fact, one wonders that Venturi could include him among the select group of "perfect artists," as he terms them. Since each of the eight painters receives equal emphasis, it is curious that there are but eight reproductions of David's work, as against approximately twenty for the others. Had Venturi chosen a more extensive representation, and with the same discernment that distinguishes the other selections, a better estimate might have resulted.

"Modern Painters" is the English version of a book published in French and Italian in 1941. Since that date several of the paintings illustrated have changed hands. It is a little disconcerting to American readers not to find the following works listed in their present location: Ingres's "Madame d'Haussonville" (Frick Collection, New York); Corot's "The Port of La Rochelle" (S. Clark Collection, New York); and Corot's "The Greek Girl" (J. W. Webb Collection, New York, not the Metro-

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politan Museum of Art). The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, now owns Corot's Salon version of "The Bridge at Narni" and Daumier's "finished" "Third-Class Railway Carriage." The latter is so patently inferior to Daumier's best work and to the oil "sketch" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art that one wonders why Venturi chose it, particularly on his own basis of criticism.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Concord to Hiroshima

THE AMERICAN PAST. By Roger Butterfield. Simon and Schuster. $10.

THE best of the Luce technique has gone into this magnificent pictorial history by one of the former editors of *Life*—the condensed but informative caption, the spare text, the eye for the dramatic, the human, and the personal; and the eye-arresting layout. But there is more to the book than these slick skills. If it is necessarily too sketchy in narrative to live up to its subtitle, "A History of the United States from Concord to Hiroshima," it is nevertheless a meaningful pageant of the people who made that history, most of them caught at moments calculated not only to reveal them at their most characteristic but also to relate them to the forces they represented in the national story. For all the purely colorful items, such as John Quincy Adams's addiction to nude plunges in the Potomac and Admiral Sir George Cockburn's insolent canter through the streets of Washington, with Dolly Madison's cushion dangling from his saddle, after the razing of the White House, there are dozens of historically illuminating citations.

Mr. Butterfield is consistently sympathetic with the under-dog, and doesn't let a very real pride in the country's history interfere with a refreshingly astringent approach. He is blunt about the mutinies in Washington's colonial army, the severe handling of the Shays Rebellion (which "showed that the leaders of the first American Revolution would shoot down anybody who tried to start another"), and the criminal origins of some of our great family fortunes. Sacco and Vanzetti get a two-line caption that refers unequivocally to their "trumped-up murder conviction."

The approximately one thousand engravings, lithographs, drawings, photographs, and cartoons, including full-page color reproductions of the incomparable Keppler, would make the book a treasure even if it did not have the lively and incisive text.

ROBERT BENDINER

Science with Angles

WHAT IS LIFE? By J. B. S. Haldane. Boni and Gaer. $3.

THIS book is somewhat similar to the one published by Haldane several months ago called "Science Advances." It consists of a series of miscellaneous essays dealing with various aspects of science, largely reprinted from the *Daily Worker* of New York and London. If we discount the Marxian angle, the essays in "What Is Life?" are rich in information value, simply and not unentertainingly written. The man's range is amazing; he can write as easily about stellar phenomena as about the latest problem in genetics. If only he would stop mixing Marx, Engels, and Stalin with Newton, Einstein, and Darwin!

BENJAMIN HARROW

Unofficial Salt

THE BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC: SEPTEMBER, 1939–MAY, 1943. History of United States Naval Operations in World War II. Volume I. By Samuel Eliot Morison. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $6.

NO CRITICAL observer of international affairs or armchair strategist can continue to function without reading this account of the crucial factor in World War II, blessed as it is on the one hand by the author's operational experience and access to official sources, both Allied and German, and on the other by his pleasantly unofficial and salty approach.

An introduction on The Navy Between the World Wars by the senior historian of the United States navy, Commodore Dudley W. Knox (Ret.), adds spice by affording a contrasting example of truly official history and by showing the political perspective of navy interests. In neither respect does Morison blend with Knox.

BJARNE BRAATOY

Films

JAMES AGEE

Midwinter Clearance

ALBUQUERQUE." An actor, shot at, grabs his kneecap and falls down stairs. Within a few seconds he is able to explain, in a politely stoical voice, that he isn't badly hurt—just hit in the leg. This is a fair measure of how intimately most movies are acquainted with even the most rudimentary realities of experience. A good excruciating crack on every kneecap that needs it might be enough to revolutionize Hollywood. Even if it didn't, it would be a pleasure to deliver.

"A Lover's Return." Louis Jouvet, in charge of a ballet troupe, gets back to Lyon after twenty years and torments the bourgeois types who did him dirt. The story is essentially sub-Montherlant trash, but it is acutely understood, easily filmed, and nicely played. Pleasant ballet stuff, backstage and on.

"An Ideal Husband." Vincent Korda's sets are good, Cecil Beaton's costumes are mouth-watering, and most of the players are visually right. The composing and cutting of this fine raw material is seldom above medium grade. Wilde's lines are unevenly and in general too slowly and patiently delivered, and the whole production is too slow and realistic.

"A Woman's Vengeance." Aldous Huxley's screen play of his "Gioconda Smile." A rather literary movie, but most movies aren't even that; much less are they real movies. Sensitively directed by Zoltan Korda and generally well played, above all by Jessica Tandy.

"Bush Christmas." Australian children hound horse thieves through some beau-

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tiful wilderness. A child's-eye movie, not imaginative enough, but simple and likable.

"Captain from Castile." The first few reels have flow and a kind of boys'-book splendor; the rest is locomotor ataxia. The costumes of Montezuma's emissaries are as magnificent as any I have ever seen. They are utilized, for movie purposes, about as appreciatively as so many sack suits.

"Furia." An Italian farmer's wife plays around with a Cornel Wilde-ish groom. This is filmed with a carnal and psychological frankness I am happy to see—and to thank the censors for saving a good deal of—and the picture is essentially sincere rather than pornographic. It is also rather childish in conception and inept as art. Good work by the two most prominent women in the cast.

"Golden Earrings." Dietrich as a gipsy, Ray Milland as a British agent. Dreary comedy-melodrama; a good bit by Reinhold Schunzel.

"Good News." I like the tunes and June Allyson. Joan McCracken makes me think of a libidinous peanut; Mel Torme reminds me of something in a jar but is, unfortunately, less quiet. If they had used the old George Olson arrangements on the tunes and had had any real feeling for the late twenties, this could have been a beauty.

"If Winter Comes." In its essence this tearjerker is much better than the determinedly tearproof allow themselves to realize. From there on out it is pretty awful. Rather well played; an overdone but promising performance by Janet Leigh.

"I Walk Alone." Good performances by Wendell Corey and Kirk Douglas; a sharp scene about an old-fashioned gangster's helplessness against modern business methods. Some better than ordinary night-club atmosphere. Otherwise the picture deserves, like four out of five other movies, to walk alone, tinkle a little bell, and cry "Unclean, unclean."

"Mourning Becomes Electra." In my opinion a badly mistaken play; so, a bad mistake to turn into a movie, especially a reverential movie. Within its own terms of mistaken reverence it seems to me a good, straight, deliberately unimaginative production.

"The Paradine Case." Hitchcock uses a lot of skill over a lot of nothing. Some very experienced work by Laughton and Leo G. Carroll; better work by Ann Todd and Joan Tetzel, who is at moments very beautiful. Valli is something to look at, too. The picture never for an instant comes to life. This is the wordiest script since the death of Edmund Burke.

"The Road to Rio." Hope, Crosby, Lamour. Enough laughs to pass the time easily and to remind you how completely, since sound came in, the American genius for movie comedy has disintegrated.

"The Secret Beyond the Door." Because he thought his mother didn't love him, the poor fellow developed a terrible, but of course forgivable, compulsion to kill women. Fritz Lang gets a few wood-silky highlights out of this sow's ear, but it is a hopeless job and a worthless movie.

"The Senator Was Indiscreet." Kaufman, MacArthur, and Nunnally Johnson put William Powell through some loosely adjusted political wringers. Most of it would seem feeble in print or on stage, but because of the generally vapid state of the movies it seems quite bold and funny on the screen.

"T-Men." This is being over-promoted and overrated, but it is an enjoyable and energetic semi-documentary melodrama.

"This Time for Keeps." Jimmy Durante; Esther Williams; some shiny bellowing from Lauritz Melchior; an attempt at off-beat locale work in Michigan; Metro's customary brats and good-will; a lot of boring music; Technicolor. The money spent on this production might easily have kept Mozart and Schubert alive and busy to the age of sixty, with enough left over to finance five of the best movies ever made. It might even have been invested in a good movie musical.

"Tycoon." Several tons of dynamite are set off in this movie; none of it under the right people.

"You Were Meant for Me." That's what you think.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ABOUT phonographs: Let me first repeat something I said a year ago. What we get from a phonograph is not the real sound of an orchestra in a hall, but the sound from a phonograph in a room that our ear has come to accept as standing for the real sound of an orchestra in a hall—in the way our eye accepts a photograph as standing for a real object. And the fact that the real sound has a frequency-range out to 14,000 cycles doesn't mean that there must be that frequency-range in the reproduced sound that our ear accepts as standing for the real sound. Even in the hall those 14,000 cycles—or even 10,000—are very weak; and under normal conditions—a record that has been played several times, a stylus worn by even a few playings—they will be reproduced with unpleasant intermodulation distortion. The sound of the London Decca recordings was distorted, I found, when they were reproduced by the London Gramophone with its full range, and was clean and beautiful only when the treble-control of the machine was set at one step down, which (according

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to the engineer in charge) made 8,000 cycles the cut-off point at which the frequency-response began to fall away. And 8,500 cycles, I am reliably informed, has been the similar cut-off point of RCA Victor recordings. That seems to be as much as can be reproduced cleanly.

Moreover the realness of the real sound is a matter not only of its frequency-range but of its large component of enriching sound reflected from the walls and ceiling of the hall. And increased verisimilitude of the recorded sound is a matter not of the additional attenuated 10,000 to 14,000 cycles but of the reflected sound picked up by the microphones, which gives it liveness, richness, and spaciousness. In recording, therefore, care and skill in the choice of a studio or hall with favorable acoustic properties and in the placing of microphones in this studio or hall are more important than extension of the frequency-range out to 14,000 cycles. And in a phonograph too a speaker cabinet large enough for spaciousness and clean definition in the sound is more important than such an extended range.

Since I wrote about the expensive London Gramophones a year ago I have heard, at Lafayette Radio's showroom, a set-up that gave first-rate reproduction of records: the Lafayette HF-720 amplifier ($115), the Garrard RC-60 record-changer equipped with the new G. E. variable reluctance cartridge ($69.50), the Stephens Tru-Sonic P-52-FR cospiral speaker ($47.04). With these in the Lafayette cabinet was the Browning AM-FM tuner, which is a good one ($143.90); and one could let Lafayette put all these components into its P-2003 cabinet ($197), or obtain a cabinet for them elsewhere. The important thing in the cabinet would be a large enough baffile-area for the speaker; and the best arrangement would be two cabinets—one for everything except the speaker; the other a speaker-cabinet of the infinite-baffle type with an interior of at least ten cubic feet.

Lafayette's low-priced machines I didn't care for; but for someone with $100 to spend I recommend RCA Victor's Demonstration Model (66E), a large table-model phonograph which it has put together for use in record-stores (I heard it at the Elaine Music Shop, which sells it for $104.25). It has one of the best crystal pickups on the market, with a jewel-point that is easy and cheap to replace; it has a good motor, separate controls for treble and bass, a 12-inch speaker. Even in the table-cabinet its tone is excellent; and if the speaker were put into a separate cabinet of the infinite-baffle type with an interior of at least eight cubic feet the result should be impressive.

For someone with more money to spend there is the General Electric No. 326, which probably costs more than the $207.60 it sold for when I wrote about it in the fall of 1946. It has the G. E. variable reluctance cartridge in its record-changer; it had a 12-inch speaker; and its sound was bright and live. (I presume that it would be improved by putting the speaker into a cabinet of its own.)

There is also the Zenith 12H, which in the fall of 1946 cost $329.40. It had a more limited range (cutting off at 4,000 or 5,000), and a sound that was less live and brilliant than that of the G. E. No. 326, but more cleanly defined in greater quiet, more solid and spacious because of the larger cabinet, and very pleasant to listen to. Its superb record-changer has a very poor motor; and though the AM and FM radio-tuner is supposed to operate without aerials I found them necessary in a city apartment.

A word, finally, about the permanent jewel or metal styli of present-day pickups. They begin to wear with the first playing of a shellac record (the wear is less with vinylite); and after a number of playings the wear begins to be apparent in lessened high-frequency reproduction, in increasing surface-noise, in high-frequency distortion. In the case of my Brush PL-20, used with wide-range amplifier and speaker-system, the distortion begins to be audible with 75 shellac sides; with 150 it amounts to a hash that envelopes the musical sound, and I have to exchange the old cartridge for a new one at a cost of $3.06. Of the new and excellent Astatic QT-J I replaced the sapphire stylus, at a cost of $1.84, after 250 shellac sides, but should have done so after 200 or even 150. And after 150 sides the metal-alloy stylus of the limited-range Zenith Cobra doesn't reproduce even the highs within its range as it gets near the center of the record, and is very noisy. My experience indicates that 150 to 200 shellac sides are the maximum for a sapphire stylus in a pickup with vertical stylus force of one ounce, or for a metal-alloy stylus in a pickup with a vertical stylus force of less than one ounce.

CONTRIBUTORS

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The Nation's
MIDWINTER BOOK NUMBER
Issue of February 28
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Letters on "The Nation" and Wallace

[*We devote the letter columns this week to extracts from letters commenting on* The Nation's *opposition to Henry Wallace's bid for the Presidency on a third-party ticket. About seventy-five letters on this subject were received. They were generally in reference to two recent editorials: P. C. A.'s Quixotic Politics, in our issue of December 27, and Wallace, Prophet or Politician? by Freda Kirchwey, in our issue of January 10. We have made as representative a selection as possible.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Prediction

Dear Sirs: Wallace will snow you under.

C. C. KELLY
Glidden, Iowa, January 20

A Regret

Dear Sirs: I can only regret that *The Nation* finds it impossible to stand with the prophets rather than with the politicians in these days of crisis.

F. D. KERSHNER,
Department of Christian Doctrine, Butler University
Indianapolis, Ind., January 13

Bad Counsel

Dear Sirs: I believe that you, not Mr. Wallace and his supporters, are the perfectionists. . . . You seem to me to be writing with a defeatist outlook, counseling progressives to follow you into a cul-de-sac of expediency and "strategic timing." Progressives have a glorious opportunity *now*, and you counsel, "Retreat!"

KATHERINE BOYLE
Los Angeles, January 24

Three Angry Reactions

Dear Sirs: Your editorials against Henry Wallace are masterpieces of absurdity and are making me furious. For twenty years I have considered *The Nation* America's best publication. Your present incongruous stand has left me feeling as I did when my favorite news commentator was forced off the air. . . .

As Harold Laski says in your pages: "Without patience and understanding the stage is being set for a third world war, and at its close there will be tyranny everywhere." Would it not be better if you advised your readers to "stand up and be counted" against this impending calamity and urged them to pile up such a protest vote as would open the eyes of Truman, Dulles, Murphy, Vandenberg, and company? Wake up—quit being a collaborator with reaction!

D. S. OSBORNE
Indianapolis, Ind., January 11

Dear Sirs: So *The Nation* chooses to betray truth and honor and the cause of progress by repudiating Henry Wallace and the third party. I had expected better things. Liberalism has been compromised and honor slapped in the face. What stupidity! What weakness! What cowardice! It is pathetic to see *The Nation* grounding arms at the critical hour. . . . As they render aid and comfort to the enemies of liberalism, I trust the editors will have cause to learn how slight the rewards and how great the cost of betraying a trust.

NEWELL L. SIMS,
Emeritus Professor of Sociology
Oberlin, Ohio, January 10

Dear Sirs: Last night I read *The Nation* for January 17, feeling more bewildered and depressed as I went on. What can have happened to an old and valued friend? I wondered. Where did that surprising editorial about President Truman's fine, liberal message to Congress come from, so blandly disregarding what was obvious—Truman's strained and insincere effort to curry favor with voters who might be seduced by Henry Wallace? And could it be with approval that *The Nation* was quoting opinions from British and French papers in which the unbelievable comparison was seriously made between Wallace, on the one hand, and MacDonald and Chamberlain, on the other? But the most painful blow came with the reading of Robert Bendiner's article, Can the G. O. P. Hold the Senate? The virulent animus against Wallace, both directly stated and implied in the whole tone of the article, angered me the more since it was found not in the Luce press, where it belonged, but in your magazine, where nothing of the sort could have been expected as recently as a month ago. The Republicans, I thought, must derive great satisfaction from reading your animadversions against Henry Wallace and the P. C. A.

ROY I. WOLFE
Toronto, Canada, January 23

Two Plaudits

Dear Sirs: This is to tell you how much I enjoyed your editorial on the Wallace third-party move. It seems to me you stated the reasons for not supporting the P. C. A. and Wallace with great clarity and adroitness. The political situation has become so confused—partly because of the real complexity of the forces at work and partly because of the very misleading arguments of the P. C. A. and similar groups—that it is no mean trick to keep from getting lost in the maze and straying off on some very unfruitful paths. I think it's a tragedy that the P. C. A. is determined to force a split in American liberal ranks under present conditions, but apparently there's no deterring them. It's refreshing, though, to see *The Nation* stick to such a sensible, clear-headed line.

ALAN R. SWEEZY
Los Angeles, January 28

Dear Sirs: Your recent editorials have accurately surveyed the position of Henry Wallace and the third party. He has done the worst possible disservice to American liberalism by assuring the election of whatever Republican reactionary may be nominated. The whole business savors unpleasantly of a grudge move by Mr. Wallace.

MARC T. GREENE
Santa Barbara, Cal., January 10

A Tiresome Argument

Dear Sirs: The argument whether there should be a third party at this time, headed by Henry Wallace, is as ridiculous as it is tiresome. The fact is that there should be a third and a fourth and a fifth party in the United States at any time such parties can obtain enough support to give a large body of citizens a chance to express themselves by vote.

The least thing that Mr. Wallace will accomplish will be to arouse more interest in the Presidental election than might otherwise be the case. He may do a great deal more; he may be the pioneer of a future labor party of national strength. And except for Mr. Taft he will probably be the only candidate, before or after nomination, who will speak with absolute sincerity, thus contributing something to a national election that has been lacking for too many years.

JACK GIBBONS
Wilmington, Del., January 27

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"The Nation" Follows the Endless Circle

Dear Sirs: For thirty years, more or less, I have read *The Nation* with pleasure and profit. . . . During this time many single copies have been worth more to me than the price of an annual subscription. Harold Laski's recent article (Getting on with Russia, January 10) is like a bright ray of sunshine breaking through a vast dark cloud of hate, hysteria, misrepresentation, and synthetic fear.

But this does not mean that it has always been possible for me to avoid criticism of *The Nation's* editorial policies. Appreciating what ought to be an obvious fact, namely, that democracy is a philosophy of compromise, I am content to march with those who are headed toward something better, rather than follow endlessly the outlines of a stationary circle—a few years of Democratic rule followed by a few years of Republican rule, both equally futile as far as meeting the challenge of the hour is concerned. When *The Nation* deserts the standard of Henry Wallace to grasp the tail of Truman's kite, it has ceased to be a trail-blazer and begins to follow the circle which goes round and round and leads nowhere.

The Nation, it seems, denounces the Wallace candidacy because it endangers Truman's chances. What do Truman's chances mean to the hard-pressed common people of the world? Truman started to retreat from the liberal New Deal position the moment he became President. . . . Taft leads to reaction; Truman dutifully follows. The results are the same. . . .

We rail, rant, and rage about communism. Are we unable to understand —or do we understand too well—that communism is competing with us in a race to create a better world for common people? There is one way to meet that competition—make good our claims. Are we willing to make the sacrifices necessary to meet it? We cannot make up our minds to pay the price, yet are harassed by a guilty conviction that we should. Our solution of this dilemma is to stop Russia—whatever that means. We would block the march of an idea by creating armies, a military government, and a police state. . . .

The most important thing today is the development of a genuine liberalism—a liberalism which is not afraid to face reality, which has the courage of its convictions, which passionately desires to do something about the injustices which afflict the world. If this liberalism does not materialize, we are lost.

The Wallace candidacy will separate the sheep from the goats, the realists from the seekers after high places. To some extent it will tell us whether or not we are fighting a losing game. A rousing Wallace campaign, coupled with a respectable third-party vote, would do more toward modifying the Marshall Plan than all the temporizing liberals we can possibly elect—with Truman or without. CRESTON C. WOLFE

Dana, Iowa, January 24

The Mistake Was Earlier

Dear Sirs: You say Henry Wallace has made a mistake at a critical time. His mistake was in not resigning from the Cabinet and starting an independent party the day F. D. R. died.

The Republicans offer reaction, isolation, the theory of money superiority and human inferiority. The Democrats offer a State Department of seventeen generals, an Agriculture Department run by a rodeo manager, ambassadors all over the globe drawn from big business, advisers all over Washington drawn from big business, and sabotage of the United Nations. The difference between the major parties is one of method, not of objectives. H. H. NETHERO

Millersburg, Ohio, January 11

Truman Is Dispensable

Dear Sirs: For a long time I "laid off" Harry Truman because he looked and acted so naive and helpless. Instead of gathering ability he seems to have acquired conceit and dangerous company. We do not need any more of either.

H. R. HADFIELD

Los Angeles, Cal., January 27

"Vote for What You Want"

Dear Sirs: Could Taft do more to increase the power of the military in our government than Truman has done? Would it be possible for Taft to appoint to federal positions more representatives of monopoly finance-capital? Could any foreign policy be more threatening to world peace than Mr. Truman's plan, with its present support of monarchists, reactionaries, and fascists, its indifference to democratic movements the world around, and its by-passing of the United Nations? Are not Truman's vetoes of the Taft-Hartley bill and the legislation to end the OPA neutralized, in the first instance, by his demand on Congress for anti-labor laws and, in the second, by his wild talk about a "police state"?

Eugene V. Debs used to advise: "It is better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it." I agree with Debs, and regret that *The Nation,* to which I have subscribed for forty years, supports Buchanan instead of Fremont —I mean Truman instead of Wallace. Wallace's candidacy gives an opportunity for an expression of choice to several millions who otherwise, like myself, would retire to some quiet pond to fish. There will be no stay-at-home vote in the coming election.

O. WATSON FLAVELLE

Orange, N. J., January 11

Wallace's Real Duty— A British View

Dear Sirs: Henry Wallace's proposed stand for the Presidency, with its implied danger of running away with Mr. Truman's majority, bewilders many Britishers.

Professor Harold Laski has recently pointed out the need for an American radical, social democrat, or labor party, and this is quite understood over here. So are the differences between Republican and Democrat, once a real riddle to non-Americans. These differences appear clearly when one considers the New Deal of F. D. R. as contrasted with the isolationism of the pre-Roosevelt era and, especially, the "dollar intoxication" which was rewarded with the sobering hang-over of the Wall Street crash. Today the differences are discernible immediately upon examination of the attitude of leading Republicans like Senator Taft, who seem to want only to get back to Harding and Coolidge.

The defeat of Mr. Truman would surely bring to an end Mr. Marshall's cooperative foreign policy—a policy which, if liberally interpreted, means the preservation of free institutions in Europe and their development elsewhere. His defeat would mean Versailles and 1919 all over again. History need repeat itself only if allowed to do so, and Mr. Wallace can play a large part in deciding whether there shall be a repeat performance of that grisly drama.

A third party ought not to assume a role in so important an election for President. Let it start from the bottom and work up the hard way. The British Labor Party did it over twenty-five years. A third party should build itself side by side with its least powerful opponent,

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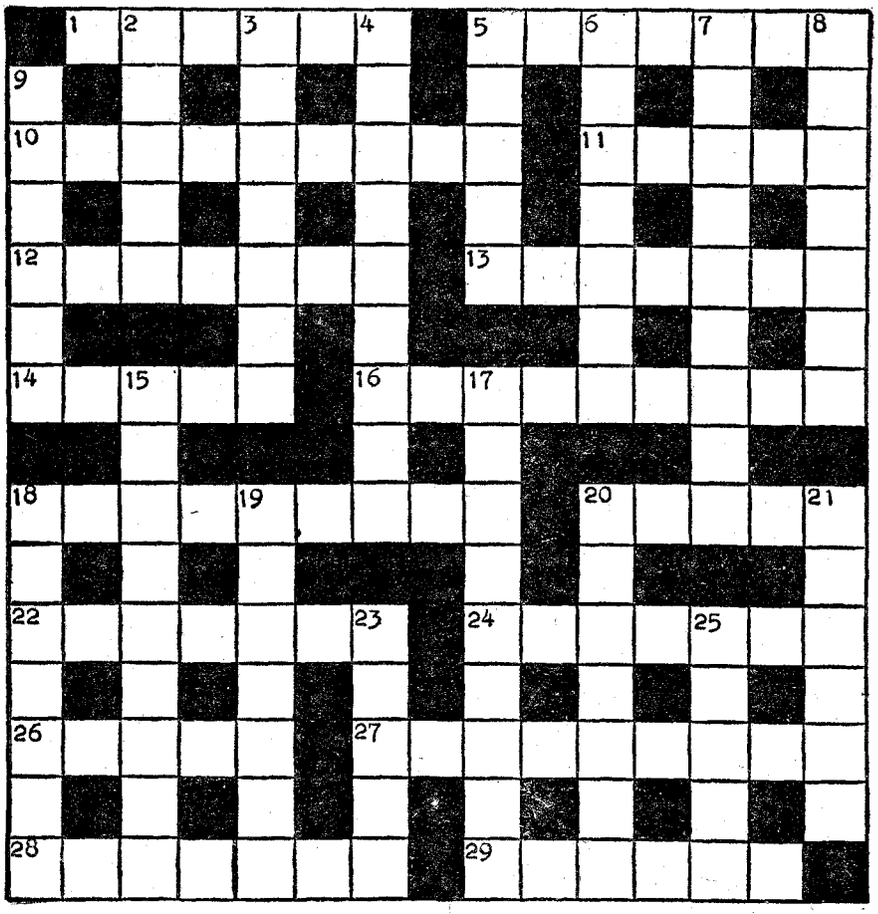
Crossword Puzzle No. 250

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Blows kisses. (6)
5 Such things are not penned now. (7)
10 Old washers, that went to pot. (9)
11 Found as a matter of course, or when duties are pressing. (5)
12 The well-dressed horsewoman appears to be. (7)
13 These occupy a number of busy little bodies. (7)
14 Sort of organ. (5)
16 Reputedly celestial products. (9)
18 Change in cargo in this sort of stuff. (9)
20 The basis of what to do with blonds? (5)
22 In favor of a weighty measure? (7)
24 Changed when day came. (7)
26 Occidental oriental. (5)
27 Did Job want to be covered with this? (9)
28 How Chesty's changed! (7)
29 Leave alone (but not well enough?). (6)

DOWN

2 Same definition as 14.
3 He swore "This island's mine!" (7)
4 He has fun when morn's past. (9)
5 Equivalent to an upstage manner, on the movie lot? (5)
6 Chain it on the table sometimes. (7)
7 Sir Galahad, for example? (4, 5)
8 Is little Edward coming up short streets? (7)
9 How Royalty sometimes acts? (6)
15 Changed into a lousy door! (9)
17 Reasserted? (9)
18 What happens when the spirit dies? (7)
19 Embellishment sounds like nothing Yiddish! (7)
20 Once sad, it was a kind of masterpiece. (7)
21 They sound like horses or yams. (6)
23 What the bird "singing o'er her grave" does. (5)
25 On the reverse of many exit signs. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 249

ACROSS:—1 SATURDAY EVENING; 9 URALS; 10 REDACTION; 11 BUSTARD; 12 WEATHER; 13 IRONERS; 14 DUTIFUL; 16 GOLDWYN; 19 CHAPEAU; 21 LEVERET; 23 TUSCANS; 24 CURIO SHOP; 25 GREEN; 26 SLICK AS A WHISTLE.

DOWN:—1 STUMBLINGBLOCKS; 2 TOADSTOOL; 3 RESTATE; 4 ABRADES; 5 ENDOWED; 6 ENCHANT; 7 IRISH; 8 GENERAL NUISANCE; 15 FREE AGENT; 17 WARLOCK; 18 NOTCHES; 19 CATSPAW; 20 ASSAGAI; 22 VERDI.

assisting that opponent from time to time when unity is essential. Its chief job is to teach the electors their next step.

Mr. Wallace should remember that divided democratic parties in pre-war Germany gave the Nazis their opportunity to gain power. He might also recall the chapter in British progressive politics known as the "Lib-Lab" period.

The office of President is a glittering prize. Fate smiled ironically and cruelly on Mr. Wallace when it deprived him of what seemed his by rightful succession. Fate, however, has not prevented him from fulfilling his real mission, which is surely not the puny one of playing Pretender to a throne which can never now be his.

GWYN ILLTYD LEWIS
Glamorgan, Wales, January 10

A Veteran's Opinion

Dear Sirs: I was an enlisted man in the field artillery in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy. I saw many of my buddies get killed fighting Fascism and Nazism. Today I see a foreign policy that sends weapons to the former Axis collaborators in Greece and Turkey. I see a foreign policy under Truman that helps the tyranny of Chiang Kai-shek, provides equipment to Dutch troops invading Indonesia, and now imposes an embargo on Palestine.

Why should I and many people like me be forced to choose between two identical foreign policies? The policy of Mr. Truman and the policy of any avowed Republican candidate would be exactly similar. Why shouldn't I have a chance to show I oppose our present foreign policy, universal military training, loyalty investigations, and the like? The only effective way I have to show it is by casting my ballot for a man who believes as I do—Mr. Wallace.

H. BUHLER
Minneapolis, Minn., January 3

What Would Wallace Do?

Dear Sirs: May I congratulate you for your stand and suggest that you go on the offensive? It is exasperating to be put continually on the defensive by those whose love for Wallace only represents their loathing for the Administration. Now I should like them to tell me what—precisely, materialistically, Presidentially *what?*—would Henry Wallace do to bring about world peace, faced by a lethargic America, an imbecilic Congress, and a determined and cynical Soviet government. ROGER MAXWELL
New York, January 20

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